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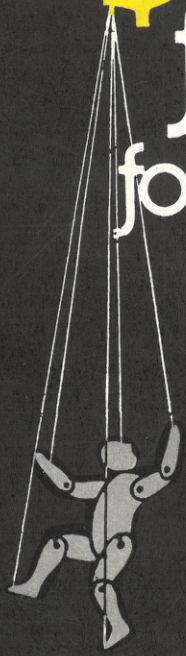
masked as fighters for human rights



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INTRODUCTION

The growing international prestige of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, their consistent foreign policy aimed at strengthening global peace and at consolidating friendly relations between states having different socio-economic systems — all taken together exert a positive influence on the course of world events. This creates favorable conditions for the struggle waged by the working people in capitalist countries for freedom and human progress.

The practical attainments of socialist countries in the build-up of developed socialism and of communism undermine the social foundations of capitalism, thus carrying out an objective revolutionary role in the modern world. Speaking at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that the development of the socialist countries, their growing might, and the increasing beneficial influence of their international policy has now become the main direction in the social progress of mankind.

For the socialist community countries, the securing of detente means the consolidation on an international scale of the viability of the foreign-policy principles elaborated by Lenin for the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. At the same time, for the ruling circles in the developed capitalist countries, detente is a forced departure from the principles by which more than one generation of bourgeois politicians were guided in respect to the socialist world during the "cold war" period.

The necessity of having to adapt themselves to the new realities of today's world, on the one hand, compels the ruling circles of some capitalist countries to move toward establishing business-like cooperation with the socialist countries; while, on the other, the very need for such adaptation makes the reactionary imperialist circles search for new strongholds from which to mount the struggle against the socialist countries. For the West, as was pointed by L. Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union, the ideological struggle "is not confined to the battle of ideas. It employs a whole system of methods designed to subvert or soften up the socialist world.

"The imperialists and their accomplices are systematically conducting hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They malign and distort everything that goes on in them. For them the main thing is to turn people against socialism".

In the late Seventies and early Eighties, Washington again turned to the policy of "cold war". Anti-Soviet hysteria swept over the United States. The former U. S. President, J. Carter, and his administration launched a campaign to boycott the Moscow Olympic Games, imposed an embargo on selling grain to the Soviet Union, and took steps to curtail the development of cultural and scientific contacts with the USSR. Under the guise of anti-Soviet hysteria, the United States is seeking to station new nuclear missiles in Europe and to prepare a spring-board for aggression in the zone of the Indian Ocean.

The coordinated ideological and subversive activities of the imperialist states against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are aimed, on the one hand, at placing the bourgeois capitalist way of life in the best light and, on the other, at preventing a further increase in the international prestige of the socialist countries, at destroying their moral and political unity, at shaking the social foundations on which their socialist society is based. After abandoning the bankrupt policy of "rejecting" or "restraining" communism by force, the world reactionaries have passed over to a long-term policy of gradually "decomposing" it and "undermining it from within". Thus, tactics aimed at the so-called "erosion" of socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology have become the dominant line taken by reactionary imperialistic forces in their struggle against the socialist countries.

Among all sorts of provocations used by reactionary forces in the West, the slanderous campaign to "champion human rights" is the most widely resorted to, the real aim of this campaign is to discredit socialist democracy and the Soviet way of life and to spread by way of world public opinion the seeds of distrust and hostility toward the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Back of the propagandistic hullabaloo raised in the

West is the United States of America whose administration made the "human rights" campaign the corner stone of its policy. The White House uses the "human rights" campaign as an excuse to increase its ideological warfare against the USSR and the other socialist countries. For it is only a mask behind which the USA endeavors to scatter seeds of distrust toward the Soviet Union as a partner in restructuring new international relations in the spirit of cooperation and detente which was commenced at the Helsinki Conference.

Thus the anticommunist and anti-Soviet policy is being continued, though in a different form and by new ways and means. The "human rights" slogan is employed by the imperialist reactionaries in their attempts to undermine the world's communist parties, the socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist ideology. While pretending to be the sole judge regarding the realization of "human rights" elsewhere in the world, the USA retains for itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. The U. S. administration makes no discrimination between the ideological antagonism of the two opposite socio-political systems and the issues of inter-state relations.

Despite the fact that only in recent years has such a furious psychological attack been launched against socialism on all the anticommunist-propaganda front by all sorts of anti-Sovieteers under cover of the sham "defence of human rights", the theme of the rights of man has long been used by the bourgeoisie as a "red herring" to disguise their aims. "Throughout the sixty years of the existence of the Soviet state", wrote *Pravda*, "bourgeois propaganda has more than once attempted to use the so-called human rights issue to falsify Soviet reality and delude the masses in capitalist countries. As far back as February 1920, imperialist circles, using the League of Nations as a cover, wanted to send a special commission to the Soviet Union to inspect working conditions there. Even then, Vladimir Lenin noted that the venture of sending such a commission — to investigate to what extent conditions in Russia met the general standards of civilized states — would not turn out in favor of the organizers of this venture."

Capitalists have always passed off their own mercenary interests and habits of exploitation as being features

common to all mankind. The bourgeoisie have demagogically proclaimed freedom, equality, and fraternity, while retaining the unlimited power of capital and hired slavery.

Marx and Engels, in *The Holy Family*, emphasized that "human rights", as interpreted by the capitalist class, do not free people from dirty profiteering but only permit free enterprise; that "they do not free man from the filth of gain, but rather give him freedom of gainful occupation." [1]

Lenin fully agreed with these concepts. In his conspectus of *The Holy Family*, he stressed that the recognition of the "rights of man" by a capitalist state "has no other meaning than the *recognition of slavery* by the state *of antiquity* had. In fact, just as the ancient state had slavery as its *natural basis*, the *modern state* has as its *natural basis* civil society and the *man* of civil society, i. e. the independent man linked with other men only by the ties of private interests and *unconscious* natural necessity, the *slave* of labour for gain and of his own as well as other men's *selfish* need. The modern (i. e., bourgeois — *B. A.*) state has recognized this as its natural basis as such in the *universal rights of man.*" [2]

The social system of socialism asserts a diametrically opposite interpretation of human rights, such as man's freedom from exploitation, self-interest and egoism, all three of which are inherent in bourgeois society and elevated to the status of bourgeois statehood. The false values of bourgeois human rights are rejected in principle by socialist society and communist morality. Hence the bourgeois call to mount a "human rights" struggle means a call for the restoration of capitalist relations and bourgeois morality in socialist society. This also means a call to revive mercenary-mindedness and profiteering, also freedom for the parasitical minority to exploit the working majority.

"The so-called 'increasing self-affirmation of man in the name of his personal human rights' bears a very distinctive and definite class content," wrote the Czechoslovak *Rude Pravo*. "The questions under concern are the

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[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 4, p. 113.

[2] V. Lenin, *Complete Works,* Vol. 29, p. 25 (translated from Ukrainian edition — *Tr*).

affirmation of bourgeois rights, the inviolability of private ownership and the inviolability of the supremacy and interest of bourgeois monopoly throughout the world. This is the core of the alternative to a socialist revolution as suggested by modern ideologists of imperialism".

The "human rights" concept, as an element of psychological war strategy, is a continuation of the so-called "theory of the erosion of communism." Back in 1960, the authors of the theory issued, in the USA, a document entitled "Ideology and Foreign Policy" which states that the task of the United States and their allies is "to create prerequisites in the socialist countries for eroding communist ideology through taking special measures from outside." These measures included: "encouragement of nationalism," the propaganda of "humane or democratic socialism," undermining the unity of the socialist community and the creation of "internal opposition."

The facts show that the "internal evolution" of socialist society remains to this very day the strategic target of the USA, while the "human rights" campaign is but one of the many futile attempts to achieve it. Therefore, today this campaign represents a form of export of counterrevolution. Using the pretext of "implementing" these rights, attempts are made to modernize the concept of "improving socialism" and creating "a socialism with a human face," whose counterrevolutionary essence revealed itself during the unrest of anti-socialist elements in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

According to the designs of Czechoslovak revisionists and their Western masters, "a free play of forces," including moves made by anti-socialist forces, should have a place in politics. In that way the democracy of socialism would have created favorable conditions for its enemies to act. A so-called "freedom of holding any views" was proclaimed, including those that were anti-socialist. Under pretended Marxism, anyone could preach practically whatever he liked. Yet, alongside this formal ideological toleration, exponents of scientific communism were persecuted. Today, this is no longer concealed even in the West, where the Czechoslovakian events are openly pictured as an attempt to revive the pre-Munich bourgeois republic.

The defeat of anti-communism in Czechoslovakia failed to lead the organizers of psychological warfare against

the USSR and other socialist countries to give up using the term "human rights" in their speculatory schemes. On the contrary, the term became basic in their attempts at the ideological restoration of capitalism on the pretext of "control over implementing the Helsinki Accords" on the rights of man in the socialist countries, particularly in Poland, where anti-socialist elements that penetrated the working movement — sparked off by imperialist subversive centers — are seeking to destabilize the situation in that country.

The "human rights" question demands a class-conscious approach. In the Soviet Union there does not exist, nor ever can, such rights as the notorious right for "free enterprise", i. e. the right for private ownership in industry, for the exploitation of hired labor and similar means of profiteering, which underlie any bourgeois state. In the USSR all such rights were done away with as far back as October 1917. That was the time which saw the start of the implementation of the right of man that had long been cherished by the best minds in human history.

Many millions of people, living in poverty and deprived of civil rights, then received the benefits of all human rights as citizens on an equal footing. Hard conditions of labor at private enterprises, suppression of the individual personality by the tsarist police and gendarmerie, merciless exploitation of the worker's children as a labor force, the oppression of small nations, illiteracy, hunger and poverty — all vanished into the past for the Soviet people. Their new socialist Motherland became a bright example of genuine civil rights for the whole world.

The policy of developed socialism in the field of human rights has been fixed by the new USSR Constitution — the fundamental document in Soviet legislature. "It reaffirms that in our country the prime purpose of all transformations, of all changes is to provide every person with conditions of living that are worthy of man", noted Leonid Brezhnev. "It gives further convincing proof that concepts of freedom, of human rights, democracy and social justice become truly meaningful only under socialism".

Every Soviet citizen enjoys a whole complex of rights without which life — in the fullest sense of the word both materially and spiritually — would be inconceivable. Included are the right to work, the right to rest and lei-

sure, to health care, social security in old age and in case of illness or full or partial disability, pensions with the loss of the family supporter, the right to receive decent living quarters, the right to education, free access to the achievements of culture. Every line in the Fundamental Law is pervaded with concern to ensure that each of these rights is strictly observed.

Alongside socio-economic rights, the Constitution guarantees Soviet citizens extensive political rights and freedoms. These are, first and foremost, the right to take part in the management and administration of state and public affairs (Article 48), the right to submit proposals to state bodies and public organizations for improving their activity, and to criticize the shortcomings in their work, persecution for criticism being prohibited (Article 49). The Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations. Exercise of these political freedoms is ensured by putting public buildings, streets and squares at the disposal of the working people and their organizations, by the broad dissemination of information, and by the opportunity to use the press, television, and radio (Article 50). The Constitution of the USSR guarantees citizens the right to associate in public organizations that promote their political activity and initiative and the satisfaction of their various interests (Article 51).

The legal status of a citizen in the USSR is characterized by an extensive system of personal rights and freedoms. Soviet citizens are granted freedom of conscience, i. e., the right to profess or not to profess any religion and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda. Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited (Article 52). The Constitution ensures protection of the family (Article 53), guarantees the inviolability of the person (Article 54), and of the home (Article 55), protects the privacy of citizens, and of their correspondence, telephone conversations, and telegraphic communications (Article 56); guarantees all citizens the right to protection by the courts against encroachments on their honor and reputation, life and health, and personal freedom and property (Article 57).

When speaking of the so-called "new American diplomacy of human rights," one should not forget that this "diplomacy" is preached by a country whose soldiers'

hands were stained with the blood of the Vietnamese people. It is a country where millions of people suffer from discrimination. It is a country fraught by chronic unemployment. During the more than thirty odd years that have passed since the end of the Second World war, the United States took part in dozens of aggressive wars fought in different parts of the globe. The USSR has never been involved in any of these wars.

The Soviet Constitution has legally fixed the foreign policy of the USSR so as to ensure man's right to live under conditions of peace. Such a policy corresponds in full to the basic provisions of the Final Act concluded at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is stated in the Soviet Constitution that the USSR's relations with other states are based on observance of the following principles: sovereign equality; mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force; inviolability of frontiers; territorial integrity of states; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and basic freedoms; the equal rights of peoples and their right to decide their own destiny; cooperation between states; the fulfilment in good faith of obligations arising from the generally recognized principles and rules of international law, and from the international treaties signed by the USSR. The Fundamental Law of the USSR forbids war propaganda.

The 20th century has more than once witnessed striking examples of the Soviet Union's defense of human rights in the international arena. It was precisely the Soviet Union that lost 20 million of its citizens in the war fighting the nazis and thus saved the world from fascist enslavement and tyranny. That was the very greatest sacrifice that could be made in the struggle for human rights. The Soviet Union was the first to raise its voice against the atomic bomb — that very bomb which made all talks of human rights senseless for the citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and many of their descendants who up to this day are dying of radiation sickness. The Soviet Union was the first to speak up in defense of the Palestinian people and in defense of civil rights in Chile.

A comparison of the broad and genuine democracy of developed socialism with those curtailed civil rights existing in the United States — that citadel of capitalism — should convince everyone that the "human rights"

campaign is hypocritically headed by a country which violates those rights at every turn. Violence and racism flowers in the USA where millions of its citizens are unemployed and poverty-stricken. The dictate of big capital rules that country.

Screened by the "human rights" slogan, subversive activities, slanderous campaigns and espionage against the USSR and other socialist countries are aimed at undermining detente and at the Helsinki Accords by distorting their meaning.

Under such conditions, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR Government attach great significance to raising the efficiency of providing the Soviet people with a communist education, to unmasking the subversive activities of imperialist reactionaries and of various anticommunist and anti-Soviet centers. The recently adopted Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee *On the Further Improvement of Ideological, Political and Educational Work* reads, in part:

"Imperialist propaganda, at present openly interacting with propaganda by the Peking chauvinists and aggressors, is carrying on an uninterrupted and furious offensive upon the Soviet people's minds. Resorting to the most refined methods and using up-to-date technology, it attempts to poison their conscience by slandering Soviet reality, attempts to blacken socialism, but present in attractive colors imperialism — with its predatory, inhuman policy and practice. Distorted information and dressed-up biased facts, half-truths and omissions, barefaced lies — all are grist to the mill of imperialist propaganda.

"Therefore, one of the most important tasks in ideological and educational work and in supplying information is to help the Soviet people identify the falsehood of this slanderous propaganda, to clearly and convincingly disclose its perfidious methods and convey to people all over the earth the truth about the world's first country to see the victory of socialism".

This booklet analyzes and brings to light the ideological subversive activities directed against the USSR and conducted under the slogan "in defense of human rights." It utilizes a large amount of factual material to show that hidden under the mask of "human rights champions" are the most reactionary imperialistic forces. They do their utmost to discredit Soviet democracy and the way

of life adhered to by the Soviet people, thus arousing hostility toward the Soviet Union. A parallel thought considered in the booklet is that the USSR is consistently fighting for the genuine realization of human rights to the fullest extent. Soviet policy rests on Leninist principles and is aimed at ensuring, on an honest and just basis, all true freedoms of the human individual as reflected in the Helsinki Final Act.

HUMAN RIGHTS AS CODIFIED BY THE TWO WORLDS

From its very first steps the "ideological offensive" on socialism, under the banner of struggle for "human rights", was given the character of an unchecked publicity of the American way of life and attempts were made by U. S. propaganda to discredit values of socialism. One of the leading ideologists of the new anticommunist "crusade", Zbignew Brzezinski, has thus overtly substantiated it: "Having found itself in the world which was losing confidence in America as a result of the phenomenon of anti-Americanism, far-flung everywhere on the globe, the new government (the Carter administration — *Auth.*) has made one of the priorities on the agenda the necessity to restore both the Americans' confidence in their power and the ability of the West to respond to the newly appearing global problems on the basis of their ideals."

Imperialist mass media was assigned a task, while speculating on "human rights" term, to hammer into people's minds certain stereotypes invented to persuade them in the firmness and advantages of the bourgeois system and to blacken socialism. Doing this, the Western propagandistic machine operates as is recommended by such theoreticians of manipulating public opinion as sociologist T. Litt of West Germany. In his work, *Science and Human Contacts in the Light of Relations Between East and West*, he wrote that the ways of life in the East and West should be compared in such a way that "a negative opposite to the free (as understood by bourgeoisie — *Auth.*) system is always looming before the eyes of the West as an anti-example scaring people away."

Apologists of capitalism spare neither trouble nor huge expenses to develop such ways of comparison which would satisfy imperialism. They resort to the juggling of facts and misinformation for the people in their countries since the data compared speaks in favor of socialism. A well-known American publicist, communist Herbert Apteker, wrote in this connection that capitalism is a system which has grown on the basis of slave labor and age-long slavery, child labor, oppression of women, contempt toward toilers and producers, the praise of man's superiority, elitism and racism and their offsprings: colonialism and predatory wars. And this capitalism, recruiting the help of its politicians and scribblers, dares to teach socialism morals and human rights. And this system with its ghettoes and restrictions, colonies and unemployment, impoverishment and starvation, slums and inaccessible libraries, massage saloons and hospitals only for those with an excess of money, this sick system, literally spoiling the atmosphere, teaches communists a lesson of ethics!

"Socialism," he continued, "means the termination of the private ownership of the means of production and the ending of production for the acquisition of profit. To establish this is to bring about the deepest revolution in all history.... The accomplishments of that Revolution have been stupendous, well-nigh miraculous. It was the state created by Lenin, the state maintained by his Party, it was the USSR, which beat back all attackers, which crushed Hitler, which saved humanity, which has since always and everywhere supported every movement for human liberation, whether it be in Vietnam or in Angola, in Cuba or in Mozambique. From Russia as the land of illiteracy to the USSR as the land where illiteracy does not exist; from Russia, where women were slaves, to the USSR, where the position of women is at a high point in the world; from Russia, the home of pogroms, to the USSR, where no pogrom has ever occurred or ever could occur; from Russia, the prison house of nations, to the USSR, a homeland of over a hundred nationalities with all equal and all at equal levels of development; from Russia, with a most backward productive capacity, to the USSR, leading the world in the production of oil and steel, iron and milk; from Russia, where mortality rates

were like those of India, to the USSR where mortality rates are among the lowest in the world." [1]

It is not incidental that "human rights champions" from bourgeois societies try to ignore the set of rights concerning the essentials of human life.

Among these rights are the rights to labor, rest and leisure, health care, the rights to material maintenance in old age, in sickness and in the event of partial or complete disability, or loss of the family supporter. There are also the rights to housing, education, and the right to enjoy cultural benefits.

This set of rights of Soviet citizens has been fixed in the fullest scope by the new USSR Constitution ratified after a nationwide discussion on October 7, 1977. Every line of the USSR's Fundamental Law is imbued with care for strict observance of an individual's rights. The Constitution's Article 57 reads, "Respect for the individual and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens are the duty of all state bodies, public organizations, and officials."

Sealed in the Constitution are extensive socio-economic rights without which genuine freedom and full-valued life would be inconceivable. The most imporatnt among them is the right to labor.

In industrially developed capitalist countries, where about 30 million people are jobless, unemployment is a tragedy for millions of people.

This has made representatives of leading capitalist states admit, at the summit talks in London, December 1977, that their economic system proved incapable of fighting unemployment whose high level secures high profits for the wealthy. Unemployment stirs up competition among workers to get any type of work possible. It makes those already employed put up with harmful working conditions, exhausting rates of production, longer working hours and low pay. Women workers in the U. S., who account for 40 percent of the national work force, are paid only 57 percent of men's pay, and black women and those belonging to other "colored" minorities are subjected to crude discrimination. The American industries have long been a worker's graveyard. On the average, some six million

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[1] Look Homeward, Jimmy Carter: The State of Human Rights, U.S.A., N. Y., 1977, p. 67.

cases of industrial traumatism and professional diseases are reported annually in the private sector of the American economy.

The highest level of industrial traumatism has been registered in the basic U. S. industries. In steel smelting (where Black and Mexican-born workers are exposed to severe segregation) an average 30 percent of workers get injured during one year; in non-ferrous metallurgy, 27 percent; in the steel construction industry, 24 percent; among the truck drivers, 33 percent; among longshoremen, 26 percent, and in the meat processing industry, 31 percent. During 1976 alone, 141 deaths were registered in America's mines. In 1975, 4,000 miners died from silicosis, and 7,000 became invalids because of traumatism. Coal producing companies declined over 90 percent of all law suits, registered by over 100,000 workers suffering from silicosis.

"What are the rates of unemployment in the USSR?" This question was put to N. Lebedinsky, Deputy Chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee, by prominent businessmen, managers and experts at Detroit's Economic Club (U.S.A.). N. Lebedinski explained that unemployment in the Soviet Union had been done away with once and for all. When a new Code of Labor Laws was adopted in 1971, the article dealing with unemployment reliefs was omitted in it since not a single Soviet citizen had ever appealed to relevant state bodies for such a relief during the preceding 40 years.

During the second half of the 1970s, bourgeois propaganda, apparantly attempting to cover wider circles of population, started talking about the so-called "dissent workers" in the USSR. A myth about a union of the unemployed, as opposed to the rest of the unions, has been designed by the Western press. The "unemployed miners" were trumpeted about in numerous articles which didn't go on scruples at the fact that a lot of mines in the USSR are in the demand for work power and that the Soviet mining industry provides everyone with a job according to his trade or profession. Bourgeois papers spit slander about unlawful dismission allegedly practiced in the USSR. The fact, however, is that in this country the administration has no right to dismiss any Soviet worker unless the union gives its consent, and the trade unions

are known to exercise strict control over the observation of workers' rights.

As regards the well-being of Soviet miners, their pay is among the highest in the country. The miners are entitled to a privileged pension, i. e., they get it at the age of 50, the size of their pension being 30 percent higher than that of other industrial workers. The retired miners who continue to work after having reached the pension age are paid both the wages and full-size pensions. In 1976, on the initiative of the trade unions a 30-hour workweek — the shortest in the history of world mining — began to be gradually introduced. During the past five years, miners' wages have grown more than 25 percent, the prices on main food stuffs and consumer goods remaining unchanged.

Can one believe then, in view of this, that the writings about the "union of Soviet unemployed" have been inspired by care about the working people? In the U.S., for instance, employers openly confront unions, while the authorities keep aside. The AFL — CIO has been struggling for 15 years to sign a labor agreement between the unions and the Stevens textile empire. Till now, however, the workers of the Stevens company are out of the union protection throughout the country's South.

According to the anti-labor Taft-Hartley bill, inacted in August 1974, solidarity strikes have been forbidden in the United States. Decisions taken by the Supreme Court of the United States are being extensively used against strikes and demonstrations, any breach of this law is considered a crime. The President of the United States is legally empowered to impose a ban on any strike. Add here assassinations by hired murderers of disagreeble union leaders and activists from among the workers. Over several past years, assassinated in this manner were Louis Laski, Joseph Cable, Norman Rayford, Roger Icar, John Ducken and Robert Romano. So, the "moving care" of capitalist bosses about the Soviet workers is not worth a brass farthing.

"The bosses want to direct our gaze away from Britain, a Britain where there is over 1.5 million people unemployed," writes in a letter to Soviet miners Jack Kollins, a miner from Kent, member of the Executive Council of the National Trade Union of Miners, "All social spendings

are being reduced.... Food is very expensive and continues to get more expensive.

"In Britain there are millions of tons of coal stocked on the surface and because people cannot afford to buy it old people will die of cold during the coming winter as previously.

"Workers wages are controlled by the government but not profits. I think that those few examples will indicate to you hypocrisy of those who pretend to be concerned about human rights."

Valentin Ivanov, an electrician, told a correspondent of the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* newspaper about the real conditions of workers' life in America and the true nature of the "care" shown by American bosses for workers. In 1977, he emigrated to the U.S.A., as he put it, "in search of human rights." This was preceded by a long-term propagandistic campaign launched in the U.S.A. in order to win Ivanov publicity as a "Russian dissent worker," "rebellious leader of the free trade-unions."

Ivanov told about psychological methods of brain-washing used by U.S. special services in order to force the "dissenters" who left the Soviet Union to spread lies about the Soviet Union. "There is one common thing in all that", writes Ivanov. "A man is faced with a threat to remain without any means of living. The one who went through it becomes absolutely controlled. When you see or read the writings by such a fighter for human rights, you should know that he is fighting for the only right he does need — the right to live. In Russia he would never write or speak about this right because he had hardly thought of it as it was self-evident." Ivanov was insisted on to play a part in the anti-Soviet propaganda. He was invited to go to Madrid to stage scandalous press conferences and anti-Soviet provocations during the meeting of representatives of the states participating in the All-European Conference held there. Having learned that such "journeys" were financed by the American CIA, Ivanov refused.

In revenge for his obstinacy he was openly persecuted at the Edison Price Factory (409 E 80 St., New York) where he was lucky to find a job after undergoing many bitter experiences. "A group of four or five people was formed there who never stopped to humiliate and insult me," wrote Ivanov, "They gave me the most difficult work.

So I had to sustain somehow the inhuman pace of work and at the same time to protect myself from the insults. But the most unexpected to me was that this campaign was inspired and led by the factory's union chief, Mike Camix. The rest of the workers — about one hundred — felt sympathy with me...."

The letters containing threats began to come from activists of the anti-Soviet emigrant organizations. One of them cinically wrote to Ivanov: "You belong to that sort of people who may be killed not only by robbers."

"In the fall of 1979, my leg began aching. I slowed down the pace and was sacked," wrote Ivanov from America. "Since then I cannot find a permanent job. I have come to disbelieve everything, be it the Western freedoms, human rights, or free trade-unions." This former "dissent worker" has learnt from his own experience what sort of "democracy" is in store for the America's working people.

Constitutions of capitalist countries do not guarantee their citizens the right to work. An attempt was made, in 1945, in the American Congress to pass a bill on the right to useful, satisfactorily remunerated, regular full-time jobs. Yet, the bill was not passed by the Senate. The "compromising" bill on employment passed in 1946 contained only vague phrases giving federal authorities the responsibility of creating conditions which would secure "reasonable opportunities... for those who want to work."

The Soviet Constitution guarantees the right to work according to a citizen's educational status, qualification and interests instead of merely providing a job for the sake of ensuring a minimum living wage. This right is ensured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of production forces, free vocational and professional training, improvement of skills, training in new trades, and by the development of good facilities for vocational guidance and job placement. Some 24 million Soviet people improve their qualifications yearly.

Provided by the Soviet Constitution is also the right of Soviet people to rest and leisure. This right is ensured by the establishment of a work-week not exceeding 41 hours for workers and employees, a shorter work day in a number of trades and industries, and shorter hours for night work. The provision of payed annual holidays, weekly days of rest, extention of cultural, educational, and

health-care institutions, and the large-scale development of sports, physical culture and camping and tourism, also prove to fulfill the needs of the worker.

Union organizations provide working people with vouchers to visit sanatoriums and rest homes, either free or at 30 percent of their cost. One has to pay an average 36 roubles for a voucher — which is one-fourth of a worker's monthly pay. In the U.S.A. or Italy, for instance, a vocation eats up some 3 to 4 average monthly wages.

Another important human right is the right to housing which is also fixed in the Soviet Constitution. Rent in the USSR, on the average, accounts for one percent of a family budget, and, with communal services included, totals about four percent. These expenses do not grow since there are no energy crises or inflation in the USSR.

In the list of social factors determining the quality of life, made up by sociologists, the column "health" stands first, followed by "education and development of the individual," "employment," "opportunity to enjoy benefits and services," etc.

The Soviet Constitution provides every citizen the right to health protection. There are 860,000 doctors in the USSR, this is almost one-third of the world's total. In the Soviet Union there are 35 doctors per 10,000 people (respectively, 22 in the FRG, 21 in the U.S.A. and 15 in Japan). Another right ensured by the Constitution is material security in old age, in sickness, in event of complete or partial disability or loss of the family supporter. The average retirement age in the USSR is essentially lower than that in the developed capitalist countries, and the size of pension makes up 50 to 100 percent of the wage before retirement (in Great Britain and other Western countries it never exceeds 25 percent).

The Soviet Constitution seals the right of citizens to education. The USSR has long been a country of complete literacy. According to the Constitution, a universal compulsory secondary education has been established in the country, all types of education being free. Over 126 million Soviet people enjoy a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education. In the U.S.A. one and a half million people over 14 years are illiterate, while 24 million American children do not attend school. Tuition at a college or a university costs 3,000 to 6,000 dollars annually.

Some amendments to the U.S. Constitution formally provide certain rights and freedoms for American citizens. Yet, these are often violated by such Federal institutions as the FBI, CIA, the National Security Agency, intelligence agencies like the Department of Defense, and also by the Chief Taxation Board.

It was in the aftermath of Watergate that the U.S. Senate established a commission under the chairmanship of Senator Frank Church to investigate the activities of those intelligence agencies. The Committee issued its Final Report in April, 1976, where its findings were summarized in the following words: "Too many people have been spied upon by too many Government agencies and too much information has been collected. The Government has often undertaken the secret surveillance of citizens on the basis of their political beliefs, even when those beliefs posed no threat of violence or illegal acts on behalf of hostile foreign powers."

Espionage and provocation against dissenters are aggravated by juridical repressions and physical tortures without legal investigation and trial, both by state bodies — the army and police — and through employment of gangsters as hired assassins.

In Boston, for example, a public figure of worldwide repute, Dr. Benjamin Spock, along with three other antagonists to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, were sentenced to jail and fined 5,000 dollars each. A miners' union leader, Joseph Yablonski, who more than once brought to light financial machinations of union leaders, was found assassinated at his home together with his wife and daughter. A peaceful demonstration staged by Kent University students protesting against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia ended up in a shoot out by the National Guards, leaving four dead and nine injured. The army and police, supported by helicopters, shot at strikers in the Attica, New York, city prison causing 43 deaths. The uprising of black residents of New York ended in 26 dead, over 1,500 wounded and 1,397 arrested by the police. During the suppression of unrest of the Black poverty-stricken population in Detroit 40 were killed and 2,000 wounded. In Memphis, Tennessee, Martin Luther King, the leader of the black human rights movement and Nobel prize winner, was assassinated, likewise was his mother in Atlanta.

Angela Davis, Black communist, one of the leaders

of the Black people's rights struggle, was arrested by FBI men and imprisoned, charged with "murder, kidnapping and conspiracy." The persecution of Angela was started on the direct order of Ronald Reagan, former Governor of California, now U.S. President. On the grounds of her political views she was expelled from California University where she had been employed as an assistant professor of philosophy. In the aftermath of 16 months of solitary confinement Angela's case was brought to a court. A death sentence seemed imminent. After some 13 weeks of infamous trial, the jury had termed the charges against the courageous communist as inconsistent.

A prison in California became the scene of the assassination of George Jackson, an outstanding Black writer and active fighter for human rights for Black Americans. Preceding the murder, Jackson spent 11 years in jail (since 1960). Charles Glatt, professor at Ohio State University, a well-known fighter against racial segregation in the U.S. schooling system and author of a number of projects on mixed teaching for Black and White students, was murdered in Detroit. A prominant Black public figure, priest Harrison Baily, was lynched by the National Socialist Party of White members in the city of Pasadena, California. The execution was filmed and pictures were mailed to the activists in Pasadena's Black organizations bearing a threat of the same violence to be perpetrated on them.

Members of the Wilmington Ten — a group of Black human rights champions led by Benjamin Chavis were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, totaling all in all 282 years, on the forged charges of an "arson" and "conspiring to assault." In reality, the only crime committed by these people was their being participants in the mass movement to achieve justice and secure the right to equal education for the Black people.

In spite of the fact that the racial problem is one of the sorest spots of American democracy, the U.S. "human rights" ideologists make attempts to blacken the USSR nationalities policy by spreading insinuations about the allegedly existing discrimination among the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. In futile hope to bane the conscience of Soviet people with the ideas of national discord the imperialist propaganda ignores the fact that genuine equality of the USSR's people is one of the prin-

cipal gains of socialism attained in the Soviet Union. The Constitution of the USSR states that this right has been ensured by conducting a policy of all-round development and the drawing together of all nations and nationalities in the USSR, by educating citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. Every individual in the USSR enjoys the possibility to speak his native language and the languages of other peoples of the country. Any direct or indirect limitation of these rights, the establishment of direct or indirect advantages of citizens based on racial and national specific features, as well as advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt are punishable by law.

"To merely have fair laws means nothing," stated V. P. Ruben, Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. "They must be exercised so that a man belonging to a national minority residing in a certain locality should not be exposed to discrimination by part of the national majority. The example of the United States in this respect is especially illustrative. More than one hundred years have elapsed since the time when equality for the Black people was legally recognized in America. But still today, racial discrimination quite often manifests itself in that country."

Not a single paragraph of the Helsinki Final Act dealing with human rights has been made law in the United States as yet. Neither have the U.S.A. ratified, so far, the UN International Pacts on economic, political and social rights. Nor have they approved of the international UN convention against genocide; it has remained shelved since 1949.

Thirty years back from now, the famous American singer and public figure, Paul Robeson, and William L. Patterson, a Black people leader, passed over to the United Nations an accusatory document: "We Charge Genocide: The Crimes of Government Against the Negro People." A great number of facts was cited in it which testified to the appalling suppression of the black population in the United States. This state of affairs has been little improved since then. The fifth anniversary of the Helsinki Accords was marked in the U.S.A. with a slaughter of negroes in Miami (Florida), cruel suppressions of Indians and other ethnic minority groups. One can hardly hold

back shudder when reading the Indians' Manifesto passed over to the White House at the end of a many-day march to Washington. "Our people are being mercilessly exterminated at the whim of monopolies and Government agents," reads the document. It reveals how Indians are being annihilated by all possible means. According to the Indians' Manifesto, every fourth Indian woman in the U.S.A. has been forcibly sterilized during 1971-75. Every third Indian child is being taken off by force from his family by various state agencies on the pretext of the need for "re-education." The Indians suffer from starvation. Their average family incomes are three times lower than the country's average. Unemployment among Indians is ten times above the US average level. The U.S. Indians' life expectancy is 44 years, and the death-rate among their children is three times that of the Whites.

Irrespective of the fact whether the Indians live in reservations or outside them, they account for a considerable part of the poor in rural areas and the urban unemployed. About 400,000 Indians suffer from unemployment. Unemployment among the Indians is ten times above the average level of unemployment in the United States. Tens of thousands of Indians are employed in sweat-shops manufacturing clothes, at all kinds of arduous and demeaning jobs, their pay being humiliatingly low. Over 50,000 migrant farm workers on the Eastern Coast are doomed to the worst living and working conditions.

U.S. citizens of the Latin American extraction are also committed to the status of third-rate people. The consideration of human rights is never related to their case. Therefore, Puerto-Ricans are used by American capitalism as a domestic reserve work force, while their own country is subjected to enormous exploitation for the sake of securing huge profits for U.S. monopolies and bankers. Puerto-Rican workers' pay equals only one-third that of their U.S. counterparts.

Advertising the U.S.-type of human rights, apologists of capitalism cite the so-called "free elections," so highly praized by the organizers of noisy "brainwashing" campaigns in the U.S., as being a touchstone of democracy. However, it is evident that the voters are suggested to make a choice between candidates of only one of the two parties — either Democratic or Republican, both expressing and defending the interests of financial tycoons. Re-

search into the real state of affairs, insofar as franchise in the United States is concerned, disproves the allegations about "free elections" and points out to their duping nature.

A 1968 U.S. Supreme Court decision pathetically declared that the right of individuals to associate for the advancement of political beliefs, and the right of qualified voters to cast their votes effectively ... rank among our most precious freedoms. But the Court added: The right to form a party for the advancement of political goals means little if a party can be kept off the election ballot and thus denied an equal opportunity to win votes. In other words, the illusory character of freedom in the activities of political parties has thus been admitted. As has been proved by experience, the proclaimed "uniting of individuals aimed at achieving political goals" is unthinkable unless there is an organized nucleus in the form of a political party (group).

The conditions for access to a place on the ballot in each of the 50 states are determined by the law of that state, regardless of whether the election is to state, local or national offices. The law of every state provides for the automatic appearance on the ballot of the Democratic and Republican parties and their candidates. But the case of minority parties and independent candidates is quite different. Much more rigid conditions are envisaged by law in regard to putting on ballot candidates of their parties.

In Georgia, for example, some 100,000 signatures (five percent of the state's 2,000,000 registered voters) are required to put a candidate on the ballot, an almost insuperable obstacle, especially in view of the fact that only about one-half of the registrants have bothered to cast their ballots in recent presidential elections. Another device to debar parties objectionable for the ruling classes from participation in elections is to shorten the period allowed for signature collecting. A Supreme Court decision for the state of California holds that gathering 325,000 signatures in 24 days would not appear to be an impossible burden ... and is not an impractical undertaking for one who desires to be a candidate for President.

A great deal of additional techniques are employed to keep small parties — rivals to Democrats and Republicans — off the elections. They include hypertechnical pro-

visions for witnessing signatures, notarizing and filling petitions.

Communist Party petition circulators are often threatened with violence and, in some cases, they are arrested by the local police. In 1976, to cite but one example, after the Maine Communist Party had filed a nominating petition with more than 13,000 signatures, well above the required 10,000, the Governor wrote an open letter to the Secretary of State and Attorney General urging them to reject the petition. The letter states in part: "In any event, all legal arguments aside, I firmly believe the majority of the Maine people want to be on record and want the nation to know that Maine is not, and has no intention of becoming, a refuge and sanctuary for the Communist Party in America." Needless to add, the recipients of the letter bowed to the Governor's demand and ruled the Party off the Maine ballot. Moreover, 29 states have enacted laws designed to bar the Communist Party and its candidates from the ballot, either in so many words or by means of "loyalty" oaths.

A comparison of rights and freedoms provided to a working man under the reign of capital to those in the socialist world shows that the slanderous campaign under the slogan of fighting for "human rights" is headed by the country where these very rights are frequently violated. The Soviet people are moralized and taught by U.S. leaders how to observe freedom while the United States is that very country where as if in the Middle Ages dissident political figures are assassinated; where houses are exploded and telephone conversations intercepted; where thefts, multimillion-dollar bribes and robbery, both in the streets and in houses, have become commonplace; where there are millions of unemployed and the society is fraught with alcoholism, prostitution and drug addiction; where children are kidnapped and the mafia rules the street; where 24,000,000 Black citizens suffer from discrimination and humiliation since the time of slavery; where student demonstrations are attacked and tear gas, handcuffs and guns are used against strikers; where prisons are packed...

UNSAVORY BUSINESS "EXPERTS"

In May 1977, the U.S. consultative commission on international information and relations in education and culture appeared in Congress with a report on reorganizing the machinery of external propaganda. Among other basic targets a task was set "to regain initiative in the ideological arena." The report suggested that a "human rights" campaign be the basis in mounting propagandistic assault against socialism. The Carter administration hurried to take a number of measures to enhance the activity of U.S. "psychological war" centers. To this, large allocations were given for the construction of additional radio transmitters to be employed by Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. In 1978, The United States Information Agency (USIA) merged with the State Department bureau on education and culture and the International Relations Board was set up. The administration of the newly established department, and its director D. Reinhardt, made it clear that the modernized propagandistic apparatus was intended to win public opinion to be further extensively used against the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The United States' NATO allies have found themselves involved in the new anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign employing the services of hundreds of propaganda centers throughout the world most of which are US-based. Anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda has been planned and directed by these centers. Research on this subject is being conducted there and special materials are prepared to be later circulated in large numbers. Many of these centers are directly involved in conducting propaganda against the USSR and the other socialist countries while others only train experts in anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda; they include government-sponsored agencies, private and mixed ones. Government-sponsored centers are footed entirely by the state; private bodies secure financial support from private trade-industrial amalgamations, banks, various fundings and private persons. Mixed centers are financed by federal and private subsidies. The activities of all of these are coordinated by the National Security Agency (NSA), State Department, the CIA, and the International Connections Board.

Some 100 anti-Soviet centers are located in the Federal

Republic of Germany. They concentrate on studying life in the USSR and the other socialist countries and the problems of communist movements. They are busied with providing propagandistic materials to state institutions and mass media in the FRG and the rest of the NATO countries. The programs on studying the USSR *(Ostforschung)* prove to be rather extensive, embracing politics, economics, history, ideology, culture, the arts, ethnography, etc. Wide use is made of the experience gained by numerous circles and societies which functioned in Germany prior to the First World War. At that time they indulged, in close contact with military intelligence and governmental bodies, in studying Russia in full compliance with the expantionist plans of German imperialism.

After the nazis seized power, the studies of the East European countries were entirely dedicated to the preparation of an aggression in the East. Following the end of the war, Hitler's old "experts on the East" and their younger counterparts were employed by West Germany's reactionary circles to elaborate the "scientific substantiation" of revanchist claims, in regard to certain territories of the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and to develop the course on the incorporation of the German Democratic Republic. "Research" results were widely utilized by the West German press, public lecturers and other means of propaganda for subversion against socialism.

Located in West Germany are also a number of centers belonging to other countries. They, too, specialize in antisocialist propaganda. Among them are the U.S.-run Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the Institute on studying the Soviet Union, British and French propaganda centers, Maoist groups (which are scarce), and even a South Korean agency for fighting communism. A number of anticommunist propaganda centers can be found in West Berlin, of them the Institute for Eastern Europe, under the auspices of the so-called Free University, Radio Free Berlin and the U.S.-sponsored RIAS radio station prove the most active.

Britain is the runner-up, following the FRG, in regard to the number and kind of propaganda nests. The British Council, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Central Information Bureau, the Common Cause organization and some other British centers of subversion have accumulated tremendous experience in the conducting of propa-

ganda. All of them maintain broad international contacts and derive generous material support.

A prominant place in the general British propaganda system is occupied by press bureaus supervised by ministries. The Foreign Office press department is one of the most notable in this respect. They all widely use mass media for misinformation and subversion against socialist countries, attempting to diminish the impact provided by the achievements of real socialism on the world public opinion. To this end, numerous press conferences are held and briefings are given. Whenever the need arises, they use private contacts with the editors of newspapers and magazines and influential journalists thus securing an opportunity to make public any information, or misinformation, while the informants remain in the shadow.

A number of British and West German propaganda centers receive large allocations from American philanthropic fundings (such as those of Ford, Rockefeller, Farfield, Hobitzelle), as well as from the German Friedrich Ebert fund which, in its turn, is generously subsidized by U.S. businessmen and bankers. Philanthropic fundings often serve as an intermediate link to screen the financing of certain anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda organizations by the CIA and other secret services.

Intelligence services of imperialist states do not limit themselves to merely financing West German and British propaganda centers. Directly involved in their activities, alongside the top staff members of the overwhelming majority of such centers, are quite a number of regular officers and paid agents of the Federal Intelligence Service (BND) in West Germany, the Constitution Protection Agency, the FRG Military Intelligence, officials of British military intelligence and counterintelligence bodies, as well as the U.S. Central Investigation Agency men.

Some 70 anti-Soviet and anticommunist organizations operate in France, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, and in the Benelux and Scandinavian countries. Many of them maintain tight links with and are footed by the CIA through the Rockefeller, Ford, Farfield, and other "philanthropic funding" organizations.

Propaganda centers performing as national organizations in the countries of Western Europe enjoy monetary support from government agencies, private firms and particular individuals, as well as from Catholic and Zionist

organizations. Extensively engaged in their subversive activities are former SS men, neofascists, Trotskyists, Right-wing socialists, renegades from the communist and workers' movements and emigrants and defectors from socialist countries. Their activities range from the academic studies of socialist countries to stirring up the population with anti-Soviet demonstrations, spreading instigating literature in the socialist countries, ideological brainwashing of the people in Western countries (mostly youth and intellectuals) in the anti-Soviet/anticommunist spirit. These centers put out in large numbers anti-Soviet and anticommunist books, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers, special radio and TV programs, films, theater performances, pictorial art, and oral propaganda. They intersperse scientific works and even advertisements with anti-Soviet and anticommunist concoctions.

West European propaganda centers were especially active during 1968-1969, all their strength and means mobilized to get ready to realize various actions aimed at estrangement of Czechoslovakia from the socialist community. Dozens of committees, leagues, and associations began to spring up in defense of right revisionists, their ideas of "human socialism" and internal antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia, and donations were collected. Provocateurs and organizers of the underground activities were illegally dispatched to the country. The output of propagandistic literature and the length of anti-Soviet radio transmissions had been increased.

Centers of subversion sent specially selected" fanatics" to the Soviet Union to openly scatter, in public places, slanderous leaflets, thus ostentatiously attracting public attention by defiant behavior. Such methods were practiced by the agents of the Italian *Europa-Civilta* organization, the Scandinavian committee of the so-called Young Geniuses Union, and of the Flemish Catholic Union of Students. A specific device employed by the anti-Soviet propagandists can be found in the publication, in capitalist countries, of books by Soviet authors whose works "are not printed in the USSR on political grounds." This not only enables publishers abroad to biasedly present the Soviet way of life in their editions as alleged "objective testimony" of eyewitnesses, but gives them free hand in

dissemination of political misinformation to the advantage of reactionary circles in the West.

In their hostile activities the above agencies abide by principal provisions and argumentation "theoretically" developed by American, West German and British "Sovietologists" and other "experts" in anticommunism who set the tone in the psychological war against socialism.

A special role in organizing ideological subversion and espionage against the USSR and other socialist countries is played by the U.S. CIA-run Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

Every Radio Liberty staff member gives a written undertaking to the CIA which can be reduced to the following: "The undersigned are informed that Radio Liberty is created by the CIA and functions on its means. Those guilty of divulging data are fined up to 10,000 dollars or jailed for up to 10 years."

For a number of years Radio Liberty remained screened behind signs carrying the name of a public corporation footed by donations from private persons and organizations. As far back as 1951 the so-called American Committee of Liberation from Bolshevism was set up which later got the name "Radio Liberty Committee." As its staff members, the committee included the Dulles brothers, former U.S. supreme commissar in Europe Jay McCloy, General Lucius Du Bignon Clay and other inveterate obscurantists. The Munich-based Radio Liberty became the Committee's executive body (initiated as Radio Liberation). It commenced broadcasting on the Soviet Union in March 1953. Two years earlier, Radio Free Europe was set up to cover the Eastern European socialist countries.

In 1971 data were published revealing the sources of financing both radio stations. As it turned out, the CIA accounted for 85 percent of their budget and had numerous agents among the staffs.

Since then the U.S. Congress has been openly making allocations from the state budget to maintain the radio stations: 38.5 million dollars in 1973; 50 million both in 1974 and 1975; 60 million in 1976, and 69 million dollars in 1978. The money is coming from the International Broadcasting Council in Washington set up in 1974 to camouflage, at least partially, the relation of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe to the Central Intelligence Agency.

As of 1975, both radio stations were located in one building in Munich. At present Radio Free Europe (RFE) broadcasts on Czechoslovakia extend to 20.5 hours daily; 19 hours on both Poland and Hungary, 7.5 hours on Bulgaria; and 12 hours on Romania. Radio Liberty's (RL) round-the-clock programs are transmitted daily (during 100 hours) in Russian and in the languages of the other peoples of the USSR. The two stations are on the air 980 hours weekly, broadcasting in 22 languages.

From their very establishment RL and RFE have been "cold war" radio centers, employing the so-called "black radio propaganda" methods.

A representative of the American committee of Radio Liberation, Kelly, once wrote that the major target pursued by the radio station lay in the shaping of thinking and directing the will of the peoples of the Soviet Union toward abolishment of the "communist regime." None of the radio stations operating on behalf or under the guise of Americans could do this. The advantage of Radio Liberation lies in that working as an emigrant, it is able to speak on behalf of the countrymen, criticize Soviet order and call the population to anti-Soviet actions.

John Richardson, one of the RFE's administrative council officials, wrote in a secret memorandum addressed to Senator Eastland, chairman of the Senate commission on internal security, that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, in peace time, are the only means to reach the strategically important East European countries and exercise the necessary influence on them. The radio stations are manned with East Europeans, and are guided and controlled by responsible U.S.-born executives.

Official instructions set before Radio Liberty the following goals:

to sow discontent among the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of the other Socialist countries;

to undermine confidence in the USSR by presenting the Soviet Union as a "neoimperialist" power;

to disseminate misinformation, shake loose the confidence in the military and economic potential of the socialist countries, and to stir up nationalist sentiments.

Secret American documents signed by the Radio Liberty Committee's president, in March 1971, contained the following instructions to be observed by Radio Liberty commentators and editors: "We must help the listeners

to act more effectively in order to alter the existing Soviet system... The radio station can provide a great deal of information which may prove rather useful during the creation of general platforms to oppose the regime... Our broadcasts must make people doubt the Soviet system and the actions of the Soviet Government...".

Despite the fact that RL and RFE have passed over from open undermining propaganda to more subtle means of influencing the audiences, their aims remain practically the same. As before, they crave for creating political instability in the socialist countries, for ideological disintegration of their population, and, consequently, for securing conditions there to substitute the existing order with a bourgeois one.

The sphere of activities of RL and RFE is not limited by only ideological subversions. They are agencies of vulgar espionage. While getting in contact with all sorts of emigrants and trading information which they had gathered on their betrayed native land, radio centers' officials obtain data containing secrets of a particular socialist state. Information, thus received, is sifted, accumulated and generalized by special services manned by regular CIA officers.

RL and RFE run services of radio interception and telephone wiretapping, monitoring communication between the FRG-based foreign embassies, missionaries, and offices. This "secret monitoring" department is headed by CIA officers. The radio interception department was later relocated from the radio station premises to the same barracks in Munich where U.S. military intelligence units reside.

The revealing of the detailed structures and functions of RL and RFE as secret CIA bodies would have appeared impossible had the information on their activities been available only from their radio programs. We could have never come to know how anti-Soviet actions were prepared, and how special services of imperialism spied against the Soviet Union, had it not been for the feat performed by intelligence officers from socialist countries who had worked for a number of years in the CIA den in Munich.

The most concealed secrets of the American Special services were made public by a Polish Intelligence officer Andrzei Czechowicz, captain of Czechoslovakian Intelligence Pavel Menarzik, Bulgarian State Security Commit-

tee Captain Khristo Khristov, and by Soviet journalist Yuri Marin. All of them revealed the secrets of the U.S. intelligence services, exposed the enemies of detente who go on disseminating antagonisms and discord among peoples the world over.

Walter R. Scott, the RL and RFE European Director, Executive Vice-President of the Council of International Broadcasting, is a regular CIA officer.

Walter Scott's colleagues, heads of leading departments, services and branches, are devoted agents of the American Intelligence Service. Among them is Gerd von Deming, chief of the policy elaborating department, and Albert Boiter, head of the research department where intelligence information about the Soviet Union is collected, analyzed and assessed. This department issues a special bulletin and provides intelligence data to various CIA subunits and to the NATO special service.

In the fall of 1976, David Abshaier, chairman of the department of U.S. broadcasts for abroad, sponsoring the Munich radio stations, made a speech at a session of the North Atlantic Assembly attended by representatives of the NATO countries' parliaments. The session was held in Williamsburg, in the United States. Abshaier stated that both radio stations had termed their relationships with the CIA and qualified their work as the "expansion of information and exchange of ideas." Abshaier complained that RL and RFE transmissions are jammed in the socialist countries and tried to prove that such actions run counter to the Helsinki Accords.

In reality, however, the matter was quite different. The Soviet national daily, *Pravda*, published a complete list of RL/RFE higher officers also servicing in the CIA. They were made known by intelligence officers from socialist countries. Not one of the heads of the Council of International Broadcast could disprove this information. Neither could that be done by American Congressmen, those in charge of RL and RFE. Listed among the CIA officers were the following RL/RFE staff members: Robert Redlich, Peter Dornan, George Perry, Robert Tuck and Keith Bush. Hans Fisher, director of the staff apparatus of the RL and RFE administrative department, has been in service with the CIA since 1947. Fred Eidlin, also a CIA man, has been working for the RFE since 1968. In 1970 he was arrested in Czechoslovakia on the charge of espionage. Russel Pool, head of the RL security department, is subordinated directly to the Washington-based CIA headquarters. Hugo Elboth, a CIA official, exercises control over the content of RL and RFE programs. Isaak Patch, also a CIA officer, headed the

RL special projects department till 1969. At present he is a responsible associate at the RL and RFE Committee.

Also in service with the CIA is Francis S. Ronalds, the RL Executive Director. The others include such CIA officers as Eugene Sosin, Jean Lecash, George Levet and others who organize, direct and personaly exercise the management of the RL and RFE activities on the assignment of the American Intelligence Service. John Lodeesen is the chief of the Russian "editorial board". Having finished, in 1967, a CIA school in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, West Germany, he come to Moscow as a second secretary of the U.S. embassy. His diplomatic career soon ended though, as he was caught red-handed doing business which had nothing in common with diplomacy. Lodeesen was declared person non grata and deported from the Soviet Union. His appearance in Munich was preceded by a short term of work at the NATO headquarters in Brussels.

In order to conceal their relation to the CIA, a number of RL/RFE departments are deployed outside West Germany. The former RL special projects department is now located in Italy. Under the mask of "International Literary Association," this department sends anti-Soviet literature to the USSR, carries on anticommunist propaganda among Soviet citizens who come to capitalist countries. This department is also directed by the Central Intelligence Agency.

A major part of the propaganda from Israel goes on air through the transmitters stationed in Munich. The materials obtained by Andrzei Czechowicz, Pavel Menarzik and other intelligence agents allow to ascertain with documentary accurateness that both radio stations are instrumental in Zionist and the like bourgeois-nationalist propaganda conducting anti-Soviet campaign and misinforming the public throughout the world. This is done under the slogan of "freedom of travel and expansion of contacts." When "cultural exchanges" are talked about, it goes about the sending of emissaries to the USSR and other socialist countries on subversive missions. The "reuniting of families" is talked about when people are recruited, from those leaving the USSR, to be later used in anti-Soviet activities. "Cooperation" is spoken of when it goes about backing and encouraging all those who live in one country and work for the benefit of another.

In Paris there is the so-called RL department for studying audiences with regard to the effectiveness of radio broadcasts. It has for years been headed by a CIA agent, Max Ralis. And despite the fact that a legal cor-

respondents' office functions in the city, Max Ralis can never be seen there, his real office has no signs. Ralis' department is assigned the mission to establish contacts with Soviet citizens, to send secret agents to the USSR under the guise of tourists, or using other ways of communication. A branch of this department has been functioning in London since October 1973.

The information obtained by the intelligence officers brought to light the names of emigres, traitors and criminals who sold themselves to the CIA and are now appealing to Soviet citizens from under the mask of freedom fighters. A lot has become known currently about gestapo men whose hands are stained with blood and who are speaking, over RL microphones, about democracy. Much is known about those who have sold the Soviet homeland for thirty pieces of silver, and are now attempting to teach us how we should love our country. Igor Glasenap, for example, is one of them. Once a nazi accomplice, he is, at present, an emigration activist at a Russian monarchist organization, and a sworn enemy of the USSR. Known by alias Lanin, he is in charge of the radio programs "Problems of the Five-Year Plans" and "Agriculture in the USSR". Ivan Laponov, also known as Victor Vishnevsky, a onetime police chief in the nazi-occupied village of Gremyachye, served in the SS and was granted an officer's rank. In the fall of 1943, Laponov personally executed Soviet patriots in the township of Navlya near Bryansk.

RL staff members Tulyaganov (aka Velly Zunnun), Pylayev (aka Pavlosky, Shramrov, Oktyabrev), Dudin (aka Gradoboyev), Tsvirko (aka Surko), Menchukov (aka Olin or Irkolin), Tenson (aka Metner) were all gestapo servicemen in the past. They betrayed, tortured and executed Soviet citizens. Sultan Garif took part in the execution of Musa Dzhalil, an anti-fascist poet. The chief of the American editorial office, Mkrtchyan, aka Kartosh'yan, surrendered to the nazis in 1942. Later he underwent training at a reconnaissance-subversion school. In the summer of 1943, Mkrtchyan, a nazi troop serviceman, was sent to France where he took part in the shooting of French partisans. Most of these dregs are members of the notorious People's Labor Union (PLU), an anti-Soviet emigrant organization whose headquarters are located in West Germany.

These are the service records of former nazi accomplices who, as was stated by some American Congressmen — sponsors of the PL and RFE, exercise the "exchange of information and ideas."

Andrzei Czechowicz, Pavel Menarzik, Khristo Khristov and Yuri Marin are but a few secret service officers mentioned in this respect. The revelations concerning CIA radio stations were a great deal contributed to by other intelligence officers from the socialist community countries, e. g., by Marian Slamen and Erwin Marak from Czechoslovakia. They successfully fulfilled their missions and returned home bringing invaluable material on subversive anti-Soviet activities of RL/RFE and reactionary emigrant organizations.

Martin Slamen began his career as an ordinary worker. Later he studied at the Bratislav Polytechnic Institute. At the age of 18 he was affiliated to the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. In 1969, Slamen was dispatched to the FRG with the mission to infiltrate the Slovak separatist emigration movement and disclose its activities. He was a success. Slamen "made friends" with F. Durchanski, one of the postwar emigration leaders. Having recruited Durchanski's support, Slamen was appointed general secretary of the "Slovak Section of the European Federative Party," member of its council and of the executive committee, and chairman of the "Slovaks' Center in the FRG."

A provision on the program adopted by the "Slovakian Revolutionary Army," one of the most reactionary emigrant organizations which Slamen managed to infiltrate, is calling "with arms in hands, by fire and sword to fight communism." Slamen had exposed connections between reactionary emigrant associations and RFE. He also gathered indisputable evidence to the fact that the emigrants use RFE microphones to instigate Slovaks to raise against socialist order, and that leaflets and other types of literature containing subversive writings are illegally carried to Czechoslovakia. "The younger generation evokes their prime interest," stated Slamen in an interview. "This in full relates to all nationalist groupings and organizations such as the 'Slovaks' Center in the FRG, 'European Federative Party,' and the 'World Congress of Slovaks.' I personally took part in a number of meetings and events staged by nationalists specially for the youth. And I can testify that they strive to bring up young people with a

violent hatred toward the socialist Slovakia and socialism in general. Nationalist dogmas are being hammered into the youngsters' heads."

The "Slovakian Revolutionary Army" has concluded an agreement with the reactionary "Free Poland" organization. And renegades of both have agreed that they should take joint "revolutionary actions." "For our voice to sound stronger, we must support Solzhenitsyn, and join in the efforts with all who struggle against Soviets," this is the credo of Czechoslovakian nationalists.

Slamen had established that taking part in the preparation of RFE programs were K. Greiner, the *Deutche Welle* Czechoslovakian section editor and manager of the *Free Slovakia* magazine; Kirschbaum, Canadian Government expert in Eastern politics and onetime nazi accomplice. These people are rendered financial support by Roman, a Canadian millionaire and functionary in the World Congress of Slovaks, tightly related to the U.S. State Department. On his recommendations, D. Gveista, a CIA agent thrown out from Czechoslovakia in his time on charges of subversive activities against the country, was elected Deputy Secretary General of the so-called World Congress of Slovaks. The chief of the department of press, Kruzhlyak, is known as being a leading member of the Radio Free Europe crew. He also occupies the position of Editor-in-Chief of the emigrant *Horizon* magazine and has been a CIA agent since 1949.

Another Czechoslovakian intelligence officer, Ervin Marak, has made an important statement disclosing RFE staff members. He secretly taped the revelations shared by RFE men during private talks. The records were broadcast by Czechoslovakian radio so that the listeners, having recognized familiar voices, could see for themselves how mendacious and hypocritical are these false "priests of democracy."

The talks recorded by Marak graphically reproduce the true face of the reactionary emigrants. All of them are deeply immoral, greedy and spiritually bankrupt people.

The exposing materials produced by Ervin Marak were employed by Czechoslovakian radio to show the true face of Czechoslovakian emigration. "These traitors and renegades, though unable to slow down the development of the world, are capable of any loathsome deeds. That is

why one should know them," wrote *Rude Pravo* newspaper.

Alongside professional intelligence officers, some RL and RFE staff members, who have quitted their service with these radio stations and came back home, played their due part in disclosing radio stations' activities.

Meczislaw Lach, who had been a senior analyst for six years at the Free Europe bureau of public opinion research, stated in an interview to Polish TV, "This research is all sham." Lach produced a top secret letter signed by intelligence officer Lawrence Parr and addressed to Henry Heart, Lach's former chief. From the letter it was obvious that all staff members of the so-called "research institutions" (centers, laboratories, institutes, and bureaus) which study public opinion for Free Europe are manned at the direct participation of the radio's intelligence department. The research under way is targeted at persuading American Congressmen that the radio station is useful and the work it does is effective. It is aimed also at deluding public opinion in the United States and fishing out from American tax payers additional tens of millions of dollars to finance the radio station.

Numerous documents marked with "For office use only" and "Top secret," published by Meczislaw Lach in Warsaw, show how a public opinion poll is run by the public opinion bureau. A lot of forms are often returned to the Bureau carrying the "questionnaire discontinued" mark. That means that the persons questioned refused to answer the questionnaire either because they found it to be too provocative or dealing with espionage. A large number of questionnaires containing clear-cut answers about the true situation in today's Poland, about successes shown by Polish people in the building up of socialism, are plainly ignored. The "public opinion researchers" need only those replies which would not run counter to their own political concepts. Therefore, the needed "arguments" are "baked" by the bureau staff members themselves, and this faked "production" is put on "a conveyer line."

Helmut Eigner, chief of the Vienna research bureau, a commercial traveler in the past, who currently has nothing to do with scientific work, in one of his letters promised H. Hart that he would send two thousand

questionnaires within one month. As Meczislaw Lach had established, all the questionnaires were fabricated. Never in the past had such a great number of Polish tourists visited Vienna during only one month. The Radio Free Europe administration is well aware of this forgery, but, nevertheless, it goes on to present these questionnaires as truth.

Anjei Smolinski, a Pole, who had worked for Radio Free Europe for nine years and, afterwards, came back to Poland, presented new evidence testifying that the Polish section of Radio Free Europe is nothing but an anti-Polish ideological subversion center. The head of this section, Zdislaw Jezeranjski (aka Jan Novak), was a gestapo collaborator during the Second World War. In a certificate granted to Jezeranjski by the nazi occupation authorities it was stated that the SS Chief and the district police of the then occupied Poland notified that the nazi authorities bestowed a brickyard to Jezeranjski (in Radzimin) for his outstanding service for the Hitler Reich.

A Polish student, Ziegmund Kentszicki, on his return from Munich to Warsaw, revealed the measures and methods employed for the so-called "Jackson" operation, schemed to flood the socialist countries with subversive literature. Special RL and RFE departments were mobilized to compile and send, through various channels, anticommunist pamphlets, leaflets and books to the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Involved in this action were also the editorial board of the *Kultura* anticommunist magazine, and the emigrant "Literary Institute," headed by former Polish prince Jezi Gedroic. Z. Kentszicki happened to be a witness and participant in these ill-wishers' intrigues. Transshipping points were organized to this end in a number of West European countries. Supervising this matter were S. Blaszczak in Edinburgh, A. Hilecki in Cologne (sentenced in Poland in his absence on charges of espionage to ten years' imprisonment), M. Lisinjski in Stockholm, R. Kaczinjski in Geneva and L. Zagorski in Rome. This activity was financed by the USA.

S. Iliyev, Bulgarian emigrant, came back to Sofia in May 1976. He revealed the close connections existing between the Munich CIA coordination center, where he used to work, and Radio Free Europe. The basic aim

pursued by the center was the collection of secret information about socialist countries, selection of cadre to be trained at American intelligence schools, work on probation of the CIA and other services' men due to be sent to socialist countries. Iliyev, known in the center as "agent No. 143," had established that the majority of the RFE Bulgarian editorial board crew had been trained in this very center, and at the American intelligence school in Natingen, near Cologne.

All the materials obtained and the practical activity of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe allow one to state with full reason that the committee on international broadcasting supervised by the United States Congress and the State Department does not exclude the influence of the American Intelligence Service on the activities and program making of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. Some changes which may occur are of formal character.

On January 29, 1976, a spokesman for Radio Free Europe told correspondents that among those on the RFE staff there is not a single CIA officer. In 1971, allegedly, there were about a dozen CIA men on the teams of the Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, but not one of them stayed there afterwards. On February 25, 1976, the above mentioned chairman of the committee on international broadcasting, David Abshaier, speaking at a session of the U.S. House of Representatives subcommittee on international relations, said that both radio stations had earlier been receiving financial support from the Central Intelligence Agency. But not a single CIA serviceman or any other governmental agency official remained there till now.

But what was the real state of affairs?

This question was aptly answered by the book *Who is Who In the RL and RFE*, published in Czechoslovakia in 1976. The book produced a full list of names and particulars of regular servicemen of the CIA and other American intelligence agencies who were on the staff of the Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty as of March 1, 1976. At least 18 men were named as being in service until that date. Among them Martin Bachsteinn, Albert Boiter, Keith Bush, Richard Cook, Deming von Gerd, Peter Dornan, Hugo Elboth, Hans Fisher, John Lodeesen, Samuel Lyon, Russel Pool, Max Ralis, Robert Redlich,

William Robinson, Ronalds, Walter Scott, and Robert Tuck.

These CIA servicemen supervised the work of other CIA agents who were staff members at the radio stations. Some of them collaborate with the so-called U.S. Army Institute. It is here that U.S. Army officers, specially selected to engage in subversive activities against the socialist countries, are undergoing training. One of the subjects studied is subversive propaganda or, as it is officially called there, "the technology of psychological war process."

Staff members, engaged in espionage, exercise guidance over a network of informants connected with the CIA through the mediation of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. They collect the necessary information to be used in the "psychological warfare." Among CIA agents there are workers of both radio stations, former citizens of socialist countries who had betrayed their native land. A number of them have long been agents of various espionage organizations of Western powers which took part in terrorist acts against communists in socialist countries. The book *Who is Who In the RL and RFE* cites the names and data pertaining to a lot of officials on the staffs at the Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, and Polish editorial boards of these radio stations who had long and actively been collaborating with the CIA in its espionage endeavors.

How can the statements, made by the administration of Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, and the so-called committee on international broadcast, be assessed now that the aforementioned facts have been made public?

Working at the RL and RFE are not only American intelligence servicemen and their aides. There is yet another group of people whom radio stations' managers pretend not to know.

Robert Redlich, a CIA officer formerly headed the RL press and work with the public department. He was interviewed by a Soviet radio and TV correspondent in Bonn.

Correspondent: "We are aware of the fact that among the Radio Liberty staff there is a certain number of people who collaborated with the nazis during the Second World War and were involved in perpetrating military crime on the USSR's territory. What can you say about this?"

Redlich: "I know nothing about it. When we employ someone we try to get assured he or she has never taken part in any crime

or in active propaganda of the national-socialist philosophy. If we find that a person did take part in these actions, we don't accept him. I don't know of any such person working for us".

Correspondent: "And what would you do, if you were presented evidence testifying that one of your staff members is an accomplice in military crime?"

Redlich: "He would be fired immediately. This reason for expelling an employee is provided for by the FRG law which we adhere to when admitting someone to a post."

Since the time these words were uttered, a number of new facts have appeared in the press about military criminals who escaped punishment and found shelter at these radio stations. A pamphlet, put out in Czechoslovakia, points out that, out of 68 RL and RFE staff members, as of March 1, 1976, twenty-four belonged to the category of military criminals, of whom one half occupied key positions.

Reliable information about the RL and RFE allows one to definitely determine the role they play and the place they occupy in the political life of today. They can thus be defined as an instrument for undermining detente and the principles established by the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Anti-Sovietism, the encitement of hatred, dissemination of misinformation targeted at ideological disintegration of individuals are means used today in both radio stations' programs, with the same aggressiveness as they were used during the "cold war" period.

The activities of these radio stations run counter to the norms of international law, the principles of peaceful coexistence and Helsinki Accords. The fact is that not only U.S. administration executives, akin to Abshaier, but some American Congressmen, too, accept certain stylistical innovations, occurring now and then in the RL and RFE programs, for the cardinal changes in the very nature of both radio stations. S. Solars and D. Fascell, for example, as well as some other members of the House of Representatives try to ascertain that RL and RFE make up for "the information hunger in full conformity with the Final Act of the All-European Conference."

Facts, however, testify to the opposite. Participants in the Helsinki Conference have agreed that they should treat with respect the right of one another to freely choose and develop their political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as the right to establish their own laws

and administrative rules. They declared that they would refrain from any interference, direct or indirect, individual or collective, into domestic or external affairs which are within the domestic jurisdiction of the other member-state, irrespective of their relationships.

According to the norms of the international law currently in force (in conformity with Article 2 of the UN Charter), the activities of a radio station, organized, encouraged and financed by State bodies, may be deemed as interference in the domestic affairs of other states when:

a) such activity is conducted exclusively with the aim of broadcasting for listeners in foreign countries in their native language in an open task to influence, by means of propaganda, the internal public and political relations, cause their change, undermine confidence of the population in the public and states order, in the policies conducted by the legitimate governments, and in the information issues transmitted within these countries so as to create, in this manner, the internal opposition;

b) it is conducted with assistance of individuals from among political opposition created as a result of the said propagandistic influence, who begin to collaborate with the secret services of foreign states, or maintain contacts with these services.

An international law principle prohibiting intervention into the domestic affairs of other states is formulated in the *Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States*, in accordance with the U. N. Charter (1970), which states that neither a state nor a group of states have the right, on whatever basis, either directly or indirectly, to interfere in the domestic or foreign affairs of another state.

Each state shall have an indisputable right to choose its political, social or cultural system without interference on part of another state, whatever the form of such interference may be.

There can be no doubt that the RL and RFE do intervene in the policy of information in other states, where such policy is solely the matter of domestic concern of these states. Propaganda in the manner it is conducted by the Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe is an outright violation of the international law principle for non-interference in each other's affairs.

This assertion may be supported by numerous instances from literature on international law.

British publications dealing with international law strongly insist that hostile radio propaganda against another state is a breach of international law.

In his book *International Propaganda and the Establishment of Minimal Norms of Public and International Control Over Propaganda* (New York, 1967) Mr. Brin, an American expert on international law, wrote that it is absolutely clear that, within the limits of their jurisdiction, the states are bound to prevent actions which prejudice the integrity and political independence of sovereign states with which they maintain friendly ties. Taking into account the well-known meaning which propaganda has for the current international relations, a state's approval or support of subversion, military propaganda and, in some cases, slanderous propaganda are a violation of international law.

In the so-called Harvard's principles on international law, published in the United States, it is clearly stated that, to only refrain from an official interference in the domestic affairs of other states is insufficient for the maintenance of neighborly relations between countries. Moreover, every state must take care not to allow that its territory is used for the activity aimed at creating internal disorders in another country.

The *Dictionary of International Law* by Strump and Schohauer (Berlin, 1961, vol. 2, p. 808) put out in the FRG, points out that, according to a state's practice and general provisions of theory, hostile foreign propaganda is incompatible with the universally accepted law. Foreign propaganda directed against the existence of, or the constitutional order in, foreign states is detrimental to their rights for national sovereignty.

In 1968, the resolution on freedom of information (No. 2448/XXII) was adopted by the UN, according to which a counteraction has been provided for (including jamming of broadcasts) to stop dissemination of false or distorted information which is detrimental to the dignity of the people and which incites hatred and prejudices between states, communities, or different races, language groups, religious beliefs, public world outlooks, or anything alike. Therefore, the jamming of RL and RFE broadcasts appears in full compliance with interna-

tional law norms and fully corresponds to the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Accords.

The UN confirms the principle of spreading objective and accurate information and requires that the propaganda of racism, nazism, colonialism, and racial discrimination should be decisively counteracted. It strongly insists that information should serve to promote friendly relations between peoples in full conformity with the UN principles.

The very existence and activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty run counter to the generally accepted norms of international law which stipulate that every state must refrain from interference into domestic affairs of one another. Apart from this, the subversive activities of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are nothing but a violation of the obligations the United States undertook according to bilateral agreements with the Soviet Union (accords of May 29, 1972 and July 19, 1973, and the communique of June 3, 1974) and that with Poland (the declaration of October 9, 1975). The FRG fails to meet the obligations which it accepted under the Treaties it signed with the Soviet Union (August 12, 1970), Poland (December 7, 1970) and Czechoslovakia (December 11, 1973).

That's how matters stand if the activities of RL and RFE are considered in terms of international law. But the activities of these stations in the territory of the FRG not only violate the standards of international law: they also break the basic norms of the FRG legislation.

According to Article 25 of the Fundamental Law of the FRG, the general principles of international law are an integral part of federal law. Stated in the laws, they define the rights and duties of the residents of the federal territory. The prevailing opinion in the FRG's law literature interprets *The General Standards of International Law* as the norms of international law which are accepted as binding by the overwhelming majority of states.

There can be no doubt that these *General Standards of International Law* embrace the principles of the UN Charter: Articles 1 and 2 unanimously endorsed by the 25th Session of the UN General Assembly and reflected in *The Basic Principles of International Law* which provide guidelines for all states to adhere to in their inter-

national affairs (Item 3 of *The Declaration of Principles*).

The flagrant violations of international law are incompatible with the letter and spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. It is small wonder that both radio stations are extremely hostile to the cause of detente and cooperation in Europe. Soon after the conference in Helsinki, a report by a certain "Council for International Broadcasting" was forwarded to radio stations *Liberty* and *Free Europe*, which emphasized the need to focus attention on gathering information about and analyzing the situation in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. A secret directive has come to light which ordered these stations to flatly deny the positive results of the Helsinki Accords, to block holding a follow-up conference on security and cooperation in 1977.

The sober-minded politicians in the USA and FRG are fully aware of the ultra-reactionary character of the Munich-based CIA radio stations, whose broadcasts are detrimental to the cause of peace. Back in 1972, in his memorandum to President Nixon, Senator Fullbright wrote that RL and RFE were nothing else but part of the system propagating lies, deceptions and brewing up conspiracies with the sole aim of misleading all those who were willing to listen. The senator accused the Washington administration of turning RL and RFE into an unofficial voice of the U.S. Government to be broadcast to communist countries within the framework of official instructions.

After the conference in Helsinki, U.S. Congressman H. Burke voiced an opinion that further financing of American radio centers located abroad runs counter to the interests of the United States and the American taxpayer. In his words, American people and other nations of the world would only benefit, if America did something about reducing the international tension.

In the Federal Republic of Germany a number of deputies of Bundestag have been vocal demanding the shutdown of these CIA radio stations.

In his interview to Soviet television in the autumn of 1976, Karl Heinz Hansen, a Social Democratic Party deputy to Bundestag, said: "We are happy that the Helsinki Accords have crowned Willy Brandt's active peace

policy, at least as a prelimenary arangement. When I say 'we' I have in mind the majority of people in West Germany. I say 'prelimenary arangement' because the agreement is yet to be implemented. It concerns not only trade, but also the establishment of confidence. Progress here is hindered by certain circles who oppose detente and try to cash in on the East-West confrontation. In order to keep up tension and uphold their claims to power, they resort to the help of the Springer-controlled media and specifically of radio stations *Liberty* and *Free Europe*.

The reactionary forces are holding fast. A report published in Washington in 1975 by the Presidential Commission On International Broadcasting, headed by Milton S. Eisenhower, says that Radio Liberty and Free Europe have always been and continue to be U.S.-sponsored organizations, their activities being regulated by U.S. interests. That is why their financing must not be considered separately from the U.S. overall spending.

The Soviet Union's stand in regard to RL and RFE has always been the same. Leonid Brezhnev worded it in a clear-cut manner at the Conference of the European Communist and Workers' Parties, saying that cultural exchange and mass media should serve humanitarian ideals, promote peace, trust and friendship among peoples. In defiance of this, some European countries allow the notorious subversive radio stations which usurped the right to call themselves *Liberty* and *Free Europe* to broadcast from their territories. Their very existence poisons the international climate and is contradictory to the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Accords. The Soviet Union holds a non-equivocal opinion that an end must be put to the functioning of these stations which serve as a means of "psychological warfare".

Closely linked with the spying and subversive activities of both radio stations is the so-called People's Labor Union, set up in the West by white émigrés and other anti-Soviet elements who had been thrown out of the USSR. Armed struggle against Soviet power and its overthrow has been the professed aim of this organization from its inception.

The militantly reactionary character of this den of sworn enemies of the Soviet people was evident from the very first days of its existence.

After the Civil War ended, routed and badly thinned White armies fled the country and settled in Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslavakia and China. For some time the units of these armies maintained their military structure and formed the so-called Russian Military Union (RMU). The Entente countries financed the RMU and prepared it for a crusade against Soviet Russia. In the meantime the Soviet republic grew stronger enough to win international recognition. The Entente countries withdrew their financial support from the RMU. A great number of ordinary soldiers and cossacks returned to their homeland.

But generals and capitalists, government officials, merchants and landowners, who had lost their wealth and privileges in Russia, continued to hatch plans for the restoration of the old bourgeois regime. They pinned their hopes on young people from the moneyed classes of czarist Russia. In 1923—1929 the White-guard émigrés set up the so-called Leagues of Russian Youth. In the summer of 1930, in Belgrade (Yugoslavia), they convened a congress of league representatives where it was decided to merge the leagues into a single organization under a pretentious name — "The National League of the New Generation" with the aim of overthrowing of Soviet power and the creation of "an independent Russian national state". Soon it assumed the name "The People's Labor Union" (PLU).

On the eve of World War II PLU had branches in most capitalist countries of Europe and in the United States. Its chieftains established firm links with Polish, Japanese, Rumanian, French and German intelligence services. Foreign secret services provided funds for special schools, which opened in Warsaw and Bucharest, where the offsprings of the White émigrés were trained by professional spies and saboteurs for conducting subversive activities in the Soviet Union. Shortly before the nazi attack on the Soviet Union, several groups of secret agents trained in these schools were sent to the Soviet territory to gather intelligence and to commit acts of sabotage and terrorism. However, owing to the vigilance of Soviet people and state security, most of the agents were soon apprehended and only very few escaped.

During the Civil War in Spain, the German intelligence service employed the PLU agents for committing

acts of sabotage against the Spanish Republic. In 1941 the PLU headquarters were moved from Belgrade to Berlin. From that time onward the organization was in the pay of the Third Reich secret service. Some of its members worked at the "East Ministry" *(Ost Ministerei)*. Others were sent to nazi-occupied territories in the train of Hitler's armies. They became petty authorities in the new local administrations, set up by the Germans, or served in the Nazi intelligence agency and took part in anti-Resistance and wiping-up operations. After the collapse of Nazi Germany, many of them were brought to justice. Some of them fled to find new masters. The PLU activities began to be controlled and financed by British and American secret services.

In 1965 the Soviet press made public the secret records of a conference held by the British Intelligence Service (IS) and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Appended to the records was a draft memorandum of the British Intelligence Service to the PLU. It is obvious from the documents that U.S. and Britain's secret services discussed recruiting agents from among PLU members for both CIA and IS. They also agreed to cooperate in using PLU members against the Soviet Union and to exchange intelligence information.

The Preamble to the records and the Brief Summary of Agreed Points indicate that Americans secured for themselves the lion's share of the PLU's "potentials".

Methods of using the PLU members by CIA and IS are outlined in the Intelligence Service memorandum. It says that the British Intelligence service has made it clear to the PLU's leadership that the aim it pursues consists in obtaining secret information about the USSR. In return, the British intelligence service was ready to provide the PLU with facilities for training, fitting out and planting saboteurs and extend help of different nature, if required. The British intelligence thought that the PLU propaganda created favorable conditions for gathering intelligence and facilitated recruitment of agents.

The Preamble specifies missions assigned to the PLU by the American and British intelligence agencies. They included espionage, brainwashing of defectors, anti-Soviet provocations. In accordance with the agreement, the U.S. intelligence service undertook to train agents picked

from among PLU members residing in West Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and Austria. The British took upon themselves the training of spies from among members of this organization living in England and in the countries of the British Commonwealth and South-East Asia.

The Intelligence Service agreed to provide the Americans with undercover addresses, to supply means of cryptographic writing and render all kinds of assistance to the CIA in making good use of the PLU.

The agreement on the PLU subversive activities against East Germany from the territory of West Berlin states it is understood that the PLU associates can apply for help to the British authorities; whenever the Intelligence Service becomes aware of such cases, it will render through appropriate channels all possible assistance to the PLU that the CIA may request.

The Intelligence Service permitted the CIA to establish contacts with the PLU agents in England proper and in the Britist Commonwealth countries, having stipulated that the CIA should coordinate its plans for the employment of the PLU agents in these countries with the British secret service.

The agreement provides for an exchange of information about the employment of the PLU between American and British intelligence services. The section "Security" says that the British Intelligence Service engages to pass to the CIA information, it comes to possess, which, in its opinion, can have bearing on the relations between the CIA and the PLU. The CIA, in its turn, engages to communicate to the British Intelligence Service information it obtains in the operations launched by the CIA and PLU, and which may touch upon British interests.

In compliance with the orders given by the CIA and the British secret service the PLU leaders recruited agents from among defectors, former members of anti-Resistance squads and ordinary criminals to be trained at special schools set up in 1949 in Bad-Homburg and Marburg (FRG). The schools trained spies, saboteurs and terrorists.

In 1951—1954 Soviet state security apprehended several groups of British and American agents — members of the Peoples' Labor Union (among them Yakuta, Kudryavtsev, Pishchikov, Remiga, Makov, Lakhno, Novikov

and others) who were parachuted into the USSR to carry out espionage and sabotage. The British were so shocked at the failure that they dissociated themselves from the PLU and transferred all the care of the PLU to the American CIA. An Intelligence Service classified document read that the PLU operations in the USSR had not given the British enough information to justify the efforts and means expended. The PLU had failed to recruit for the Intelligence Service Soviet people outside the USSR. The Intelligence Service arrived at the conclusion that the collaboration with the PLU was unproductive and the results of collaboration could not balance the expenditures.

After taking the PLU under its wing the CIA decided to modify the structure and activities of the PLU within the framework of the anti-Soviet organizations which would combine both intelligence effort and ideological subversion. The PLU was incorporated in the network of anti-Soviet "human rights" committees "The Tolstoi Foundation", "The Hertzen Foundation" and the like. The PLU, its magazine *Grani* and *Posev* Publishing House maintain close links with Radio Liberty which is financed and controlled by the American CIA.

It should be noted that a good number of slanderers who, over the last few years have actively participated in major anti-Soviet campaigns, are associated with the PLU. Among them Solzhenitsyn ranks first; others are Bukovski — a PLU activist (during his trial the PLU slanderous publications, which he possessed and distributed, were produced); Amalryk, who predicted the Soviet Union's downfall by 1984; Ginzburg, Litvin-Krasnov, Korzhavin, Maramzin, Verner, Udodov and some other "fighters for democracy." Their relations with the PLU became apparent after they arrived in the West.

A new organization was set up in Munich in the spring of 1977 — "The International Samizdat Research Center — Samizdat Archives". The West German Communist newspaper *Unsere Zeit* wrote that the new Munich-based organization, in addition to collecting anti-Soviet deceptions, is concerned with writing and distributing anti-socialist literature. It also catalogues these publications and seeks ways of its delivery to, and distribution in, socialist countries. Thus, under the cover of a research organization, an ideologically subversive center was created

to engage in the so-called "black propaganda". This type of propaganda based on intelligence information never reveals its sources of information. It claims that its materials are obtained from "the enemy territory" and are sent by "nonconformists from the enemy's center".

Radio Liberty and Free Europe supplied the Munich center with espionage materials and manuscripts. The West German intelligence service BND assigned Major-General Jochim Tschaschel of Bundesver, who, under Hitler, was a major at the General Staff and participated in operations against the Soviet Union, to keep in touch with the Munich center. Later he was at the head of the BND's third department concerned with the analysis of intelligence on socialist countries.

The center's director, Martin Dewherst, born in 1937 in Lids, until recently was a faculty member of Glasgow University Slavic Department. He poses for "an expert in Soviet and Russian literature", but his name is not to be found among the authors writing on literature, at least, in official reference books. Dewherst is better known as a British intelligence officer. It is in this capacity that he maintained contacts with Prof. A. Novakovski (alias Nove), born in 1915 in Petersburg, an anti-communist, who heads the Institute of Soviet and East European studies at Glasgow University. Dewherst is fanatically anti-Soviet. On his visits to the USSR, he tried to establish contacts with Soviet people in order to receive information on the state of economy and internal affairs in the Soviet Union. In 1962 he was expelled from the USSR.

One of the center's associates is Prof Leonard Shapiro (London University) whose real name is Leonid Moiseyevich Shapiro, born in 1908, the son of a rabbi of the city of Kaunas in bourgeois Lithuania. Since 1941, L. Shapiro has been a member of U.S. Zionist organizations. In 1949 he worked for the British Foreign Office and was associated with the British Intelligence Service as an expert in "Soviet affairs". He is the author of a number of anti-Soviet books. Since 1955, he has been on the faculty of London School of Economics.

Frederic Charles Barghorn, born in New York, is a Professor at Yale University (U.S.A.) and also a CIA agent. From 1942 to 1947 he worked in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and was actively involved in intelligence ac-

tivities. From 1949 to 1951 he was an assistant head of U.S. intelligence network in Germany. In 1956, 1959, 1961 and 1963 he visited the USSR in American tourist groups to gather intelligence. In 1963, while on a visit to the USSR, he was arrested as he tried to pick up a parcel containing intelligence information on Soviet rocket-building and was expelled from the USSR.

Prof. Bogdan Bochurkiv (Carleton University, Canada), also known as Rostislav Illarionovich Botsyurkiv, a native of Ternopol Region (USSR), an active member of various émigré organizations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. In 1953 he was secretary of the UNA (Ukrainian National Association) in Canada, editor of the magazine *Golos Molodi* (The Voice of Youth) and member of Ukrainian Culture and Education Center. In Canada, Botsyurkiv is considered an authority on the position of Church in the USSR. He actively collaborates with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

The PLU émigré organization, with its affiliates in a number of countries, works to undermine cooperation among nations, ignoring the international law and the Helsinki Accords. Helsinki Accords signatories pledged to abstain from any interference, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating state irrespective of the state of their mutual relations.

The encouragement (or connivance) given to the PLU by the countries where it is based hardly agrees with the above pledge, though it's no secret that the PLU is openly trying to interfere in the Soviet Union's internal affairs. The PLU is engaged in hostile propaganda against the USSR. Subversive "black propaganda" is on the PLU list, too, as a means of covering up the true source it emanates from. For example, many of anti-Soviet *Samizdat* publications are written and compiled outside the USSR, then printed in many copies by the PLU, and smuggled into the USSR to be treated as the so called "voice of domestic opposition".

The question arises: Why do countries which have signed agreements on cooperation with the USSR, allow the PLU to function within their boundaries? On this matter the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* wrote on December 4, 1977: "The following questions have

often been asked in the Federal Republic of Germany, why does the West German Government, which zealously advocates the observance of sovereign rights of states, tolerate on its territory the existence of foreign organizations acting against third countries? Why does it not follow the Final Act provisions of putting an end to foreign centers' activities aimed at wrecking European cooperation, poisoning the atmosphere of confidence among European countries and opposing international detente? Answers to these questions have not been given yet."

Even in the wildest imagination the PLU cannot be seen as a promoter either of mutually beneficial cooperation based on the principles of sovereignty, equality and non-interference in internal affairs or of mutual understanding and trust among peoples. The PLU's policies and practices run counter to these objectives set in the Joint Soviet-American Communiqué of July 3, 1974.

The PLU, RL/RFE "Samizdat Archives" and other anti-Soviet centers violate both international law and the internal legislation of countries where these organizations are functioning. Their aims have nothing to do with exchange of ideas, enhancement of mutual understanding and rapprochement. These organizations are set to bring down cooperation and detente, which task is incompatible with the letter and spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. Anti-Soviet propaganda centers, hostile to peaceful coexistence must, no doubt, be outlawed.

CLERICS THE SLANDERERS

A number of anti-Soviet centers in the West try to put themselves out as champions of freedom of conscience and protectors of faith. In fact, they are political organizations financed and controlled by the CIA and other reactionary special services.

Such clerical organizations commit ideological subversion by trying to mold believers' consciousness. They cover up their political propaganda by posing it as "the word of God," thus hoping to appeal to religious sentiments of believers. The London Center for the Study of

Religion and Communism, the Underground Evangelism, Slavic Mission, and the *Licht nach Osten* are among these organizations. The so-called Karlovacki Church, established as far back as in 1921, is also siding up with them.

It was the year when a group of emigrant bishops, hostile to the Soviets, set up the so-called "Supreme Russian Church Management Abroad." It was nicknamed "Karlovacki" after the town of Karlovci Sremski, Yugoslavia, where "The Russian Church in Exile" announced its formation as anti-Soviet emigrant clerical organization. Karlovacki Church members made friends with sworn enemies of both Russian people and of the whole of mankind. Clerical emigration had then share in inciting Adolf Hitler toward aggression against the Soviet Union. The then "Karlovacki Church" leader, Metropolitan Anastasiy, in his message of gratitude to Hitler said that "every Orthodox church would hear prayers for the Fuhrer" and that "best people of all nations saw in Hitler the leader of the worldwide struggle for peace and truth." The nazi invasion and reports of their movement into the Soviet territory were causes for jubilation among the Karlovacki Church members. In his 1942 Easter message Metropolitan Anastasiy wrote that the "ancient city of Kiev, the long-suffering town of Smolensk, and the city of Pskov were rejoicing and that all over the liberated lands where Russian people lived the happy chant " 'Christ's risen!' was heard." This was written at the time when millions of Russian and other Christians were being annihilated in the nazi's gas chambers, crematorium furnaces and millions more were subjected to merciless nazi occupation terror, unheard-of sufferings and privations.

Metropolitan Anastasiy's associates worked hard to spread dissent among the anti-Hitler coalition countries. Archbishop Vitaliy, then living in the United States, called on President Roosevelt to stop aid to the USSR. Karlovacki Church officials made desparate attempts to hinder the opening of the Second Front. They readily assisted the nazis in raising military units, manned by traitors to their native lands. Anastasiy and his subordinates, for instance, assisted in raising units who called themselves Russian Guards Group in Yugoslavia and were used by nazis in anti-Resistance raids. Anastasiy cam-

paigned urging people to join the Group. He conducted religious services for the Group members, watched field exercises and attended banquets. Anastasiy did not stop short of supporting Vlasov, the traitor to the Soviet people.

Following the collapse of Nazi Germany the leaders of the Karlovacki grouping realigned themselves, sided with American "hawks" and urged them to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union. Metropolitan Anastasiy's 1948 Easter message read in part: "This fearful devastating nuclear fire is not only destructive but it is also purifying... As a matter of fact atomic bombs are less harmful for Russia if compared to the harm done by moral degeneration introduced into the Russian soul by the highest state and church authorities".

Since 1950, the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia has been functioning in the United States. It fiercely opposes any moves toward bettering relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Karlovacki Church leaders attack peace policies no matter which country advocates them. The Karlovacki Church approved the U.S. war in Korea, rendered support to the imperialist aggression in Indochina and gave its blessing to Russian-born soldiers for fighting in Vietnam. The Karlovacki Group periodicals denounced the demands to withdraw U.S. troops from Indochina and reprimanded the American youth who didn't want to take part in the "dirty war." The Western press repeatedly published materials revealing connections of the Karlovacki Church with the CIA, the Izraeli Zionists, and other reactionary organizations. This Church is far, though, from being a "monolithic association of people united by their common faith, destiny and aims," as they are claimed to be by some in the West. It is rather a political anti-Soviet organization, set in opposition to detente, peace and cooperation.

The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia lends itself as a source of anti-Soviet malicious slander purporting to reveal the alleged "infringements of freedom of conscience in the USSR." It spreads lies to the effect that in the Soviet Union the clergy and laymen endure persecutions by state for their religious beliefs.

The emigrant press unscrupulously draws parallels between persecutions of early Christians and the present-

day invented "persecution" of Christians in the USSR. One of the Karlovacki papers, for example, carried an article — work of unbridled imagination — vividly describing how Bolsheviks seized itinerant bishop Sergey Ukhtomsky at a railroad station and shot him dead: "and he collapsed on the rails with his beggarly knapsack." But the bishop, so brutally shot, in real life lived long after the shooting in good health and even had a diocese. Bishop Vitaliy, known to many emigrants in the United States, alleged that Archbishop Simon of Ostrog had been tortured to death, whereas the said Archbishop Simon lived his life enjoying robust health.

Western "experts" in misinformation claim that in the Soviet Union clergy have been tried many times for their religious convictions and for holding holy orders. Several clergymen were, in fact, tried in the Soviet Union for anti-Soviet activities which they conducted screening them behind their religion. These activities had nothing whatsoever to do with the religious life of the church and their clerical duties.

One N. F. Voloshin, for example, has set up a sect and called on its members to disobey Soviet laws. He compelled them to refuse to take state pensions, allowances and boycott medical care. In order to win uncomplaining obedience of believers, he would resort to open violence. As his daughter Dina, aged 15, said, he forbad her 13-year sister Yelizaveta and brother Ilia, 12, to attend school, so they had never been there.

"The father beats us up severely without any reason," said Dina. "When he came to know that I had my hair a little bit cut, he took me and my sister to a prayer assembly, beat me up and squeezed my throat. My mouth and nose started bleeding. There were about seven of them who began to cut out my hair. I cried and thought my father might stifle me. Somehow I managed to get free, though, and together with my sister we fought our way out to the street... I'll never return to my mother, to say nothing about Voloshin. I'll never stay with them. He may kill me. I want to go to school, like all other girls do, and I'll never live with my mother and that wild fanatic Voloshin."

After Voloshin was tried, Western "Sovietologists" began to claim that he had been punished for his "belief in God."

Western subversive centers, concentrating on anti-Soviet fabrications, whipped up a noisy campaign against the "persecution for belief" allegedly taking place in the USSR.

In March 1979, another trial took place in Tashkent. During the court proceedings it was established that the former *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow, Christopher Wren, and a BBC correspondent, K. Ruein, were receiving slanderous materials, blackening the Soviet order, from Vladimir Shelkov residing in Uzbekistan with forged papers. To escape deserved punishment for being involved in numerous crimes, he declared himself dead and staged his own funeral. Following that, he took up the alias Pyotr Pavlov and, helped by his associates, persisted with illegal activities.

His accomplices assisted Shelkov in receiving anti-Soviet literature from the West and circulating it among believers. Shelkov had fabricated his own publications containing a call to overthrow the Soviet order.

As the investigation revealed, Shelkov headed a top-secret organization which conducted its illegal activity under the guise of Adventist-Reformists' religious community. This organization pretending to be religious, pursued the goals alient to the socialist system. Believers were called to disobey Soviet laws and abstain from the draft. Attempts were also made to avert them from the participation in public, political and cultural life of the country. They were urged to educate children in an anti-Soviet spirit.

Among Shelkov's most active aids was Arnold Spalin who edited slanderous publications. Ilia Lepshin and Sophia Furlet were engaged in circulating illegal literature. They had involved a believer, Sergey Maslov, in their activity. S. Maslov was put on probation.

One out-and-out criminal and three adventurers made up the source from which the Western correspondents were drawing up "facts" about alleged persecution of believers in the Soviet Union. Yet all the attempts of anti-Soviet propaganda to elevate Shelkov and his collaborators to the level of "martyrs" and present them as victims of the "persecution of religion in the USSR" have proved futile. All these people were punished not for their beliefs, but for the breach of USSR Criminal Code.

In the West there is a number of organizations and individuals who inspire and finance illegal activities of a small group of believers who split from the officially recognized Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists (ECB) and formed the Council of Churches of ECB. Their leaders pretend to speak out on behalf of all baptists living in the Soviet Union.

Among the schismatics who attract unremitting attention from the anti-Soviet centers abroad, there are some time-tested enemies of the Soviet Union. Dmitry Minyakov is one of them. Back in 1943 he enlisted to the Nazi army. In April 1944 he joined the so-called "Russian Liberation Army," formed out of traitors in the service of fascists. As a soldier of the 553d batallion, Minyakov assisted in massacres of Soviet people. After he was taken prisoner by Soviet troops, he was tried and sentenced to 10 years in jail. Kryuchkov, Vins, Baturin, Antonov, Khorev, Minyakov, and other leaders of baptists-raskolniki (schismatics) extorted money from their congregations, and dodged taxes. They owned houses and other property worth many thousands of roubles. Kryuchkov, for example, bought and furnished a house which cost him 15 thousand roubles. His associates, Kreker, Khrapov, and Minyakov followed in his steps in their life styles.

In order to draw attention of believers in the West, baptists-raskolniki leaders clamor about persecutions against them for the cause of faith totally without foundation. One of the lies launched and perpetrated by them was the story of Ivan Moiseyev, who, according to it, died "the death of a martyr."

On a hot day in July 1972, a Soviet soldier, Ivan Moiseyev, was drowned in the vicinity of Cape Borzovka, not far from the town of Kerch. He went under at a distance of about 100 meters off the shore. There were many people in the water at the time, bathing and swimming. The soldier was promptly found and carried to the beach. Everything possible was done to bring him back to life. Forced respiration was applied immediately. Medical doctor N. Novikova tried to restart the man's heart by means of massage and, when it failed, administered an adrenaline injection straight into the heart and ephedrine into the vein. Unfortunately, all attempts to bring the man back to life ended in failure since, as the post-

mortem showed, immediately upon choking the man suffered heart paralysis.

Ivan Moiseyev's death was taken closely to heart by his fellow servicemen. They could never expect that dishonest people, who called Ivan their "brother", would twist the tragic story around to suit their purposes. Among the relatives of the deceased were a number of Evangelical Christian Baptists of the Raskolniki branch. The leaders of the Council of Churches of ECB moved in to benefit on the soldier's death. At the funeral in Ivan's native village of Volontirovka, Moldavia, people were told that he had been "tortured to death". Marks left on the body during attempts to save his life and post-mortem incisions were iniquitously interpreted as evidence of the "martyr's terrible tortures."

Anti-Soviet insinuations around Ivan Moiseyev's death were spread by Georgiy Vins. At the trial he was charged with spreading malicious lies against Soviet people and state, instigating believers to take part in illegal activities and violating Soviet laws on functioning of religious organizations. The hearings of his case, open to the public, were held at the Kiev Regional Court of Law.

At the trial it was established that it had been Vins himself who created his falsified version of Ivan Moiseyev's death. Vins published articles in journals of the Council of Churches, claiming that Moiseyev had been "tortured to death for adherence to his faith" and later used this lie in instigating believers to become conscientious objectors to service in the Soviet Army and to renounce the Soviet citizenship. In addition to publishing his misinforming stories in illegal periodicals, he included them into his sermons with the aim of inducing anti-Soviet feelings among his congregations.

It was Vins who was the source of preposterous stories that purportedly had come from the "murdered" Ivan Moiseyev.

"December 1970. Five days and nights I was denied food. Then they asked me: 'Well, have you changed your convictions?' Then I was kept for five hours standing in the freezing cold of 25-30° C below zero with only my summer uniform on. Then they kept me out in the cold for the whole night, and, then, for several nights in a row. It lasted for two weeks. They kept brainwashing me, and

in January, I was dispatched somewhere in the direction of Sverdlovsk. Upon arrival I was put in jail, in a solitary confinement. In that jail I was put through five torture chambers, each equipped for a different kind of torture. In the first chamber I could only lie flat. In the second one I was only able either to stand or to sit. In the third I could only stand and the cold water was continuously running from the shower, installed in the ceiling. The fourth was sort of a refrigerator where they lowered temperature to the point very short of freezing me to death. In the fifth chamber they tortured me by applying pressure to my body: I was dressed there in a special rubber very tight fitting garment and they inflated it so the air would squeeze me hard. Each time I was undergoing a torture they asked me: 'Well, will you give up your beliefs? Otherwise you'll stay here for seven years.' I exclaimed: 'If it's God's will, I'll stay here for seven years'. The tortures continued for twelve days." At the inquest Moiseyev's life was traced day by day at the time of the alleged tortures, for which purpose all the relevant documents and testimonies were examined. As it turned out, he had never gone anywhere and had never been arrested.

The story went on to tell that one night an angel appeared before Ivan in the barracks. He took Ivan along with him, flew out through the roof "to another planet" where Moiseyev talked with apostles and prophets, after which he was taken back. Other soldiers were astounded to learn about the trip but soon they began to see "the true light." Their conversion received a considerable boost after Ivan addressed God with a request to help in obtaining a leave of absence for an Armenian-born sergeant, a non-believer. The God promised to make a personal intercession and several hours later there came a telephone call from an angel who introduced himself as a general, and ordered to let the sergeant go home that very instant. The officers tried "to dispel the illusion held by the soldiers that it was God who had secured the sergeant's conversion in Christian faith. Soldiers rejoiced while their superiors went out in shame." Afterward, Moiseyev was knocked down by a 6.5 tons truck and his broken bones miraculously knitted overnight, and this miracle led the entire hospital to cry out: "God does exist!" One more mir-

acle followed,with God rolling a loaf of bread in front of the car driven by Ivan.

The officers who became convinced that Moiseyev was not to be subdued, "stabbed" him to death, carried the body in a truck bearing the word "Pravda" (Truth) to the shore and threw it into the sea.

These misrepresentations were used to stir up provocative trouble at Ivan's funeral. His parents were the only two baptist-raskolniki living in the village of Volontirovka, and yet the funeral was attended by baptists from many parts of the republic. Eyewitnesses say it would be a hard job to describe adequately goings on of that day. It was a real pandemonium with shouts and curses filling the air. Baptist activists were heard above the din urging others to shout, "We won't allow our children into the army!" At the court proceedings it was established beyond doubt that these "activists" had been in direct touch with Georgiy Vins.

With the facts firmly established, the Kiev Regional Court found Vins guilty of trying to incite blind anti-Soviet frenzy among his congregation and of pushing them into wrong doing and law breaking.

Distorted facts about the " 'martyrdom' of brother Ivan" were being circulated outside the Soviet Union, too. P. Yakimenkov, one of the leaders of the Council of Churches of ECB, described how he had met with Ivan Moiseyev's relatives and admitted that the Council of Churches maintained illegal contacts with foreign countries. P. Yakimenkov was found to possess instructions which he had received from his bosses controlling the "Council." The instructions included a secret message from one Kvartus Klement who made himself noticeable in the anti-Soviet campaigns outside the USSR. In his message Klement expressed his thanks to the "brothers" for the piece of misinformation on Ivan Moiseyev's death. He wrote that the story had been translated into many languages and circulated in 45 countries of the world. Klement puts forward a further task. "If you come across anything along similar lines, we ask you to hand it over to the person who will bring you this letter, or to two Brothers Philip and Stefan, who will visit you a week later."

The names of "brethren" from abroad, who visited the

Soviet Union in order to obtain and spread deceptions and stage provocations, have appeared on several occasions in the Soviet press. These people are dispatched to the USSR by anti-Soviet organizations such as the Underground Evangelism (U.S.A.), *Licht nach Osten* (West Germany), the Center for the Study of Religion and Communism (Great Britain). The head of the Slavic Mission, Martinson, sent his emissary Savva Cherniychuk to the USSR, and provided him with money to give out as support to "the underground church." On the orders from Martinson, Cherniychuk was to collect defamatory stories about the Soviet way of life. But he failed his mission and was expelled from the USSR. The trips to the USSR of Ulf Oldenburg, Dutchman, Steve Durasoff, Andre Semenchuk, Donna Lubovich, and Jacob Kosel, U.S. citizens, Merling Gunnar, a Swede, Seppo Muyunnen, a Finn, and others ended ignominiously too, since their activities were incompatible with the status of visitors.

Anti-Soviet centers in different countries render considerable financial support to agents, provocateurs as a pay for launching anti-Soviet campaign similar to the one organized around Ivan Moiseyev's death. Money, clothes and various trinkets are carried across the borders into the USSR by foreign tourists or delivered by mail. The American nationalist Ukrainian Baptist association leader Garbuzyuk who had been a nazi accomplice during the war, asked the Canadian tourist Anastasiya Pavlyuk to deliver 500 dollars to the Council of Churches of ECB. Pavlyuk also had goods to be given to Vins' wife, worth 250 dollars. As a pay for what? For what purpose? To carry out, with no delay, missions similar to those indicated by Kvartus Klement.

On April 23, 1974, Gans Ollesch, minister of the ELIM Christian community, and his assistant Daniel Zehlke and their wives arrived in a Volkswagen minibus from the Federal Republic of Germany at the border of the USSR. At the custom-house a hiding place containing anti-Soviet books and types for printing anti-Soviet literature was discovered at the underside of the bus floor. The Germans also had in their possession a tape recorder with tapes of anti-Soviet propaganda. 8.000 Soviet roubles in each were hidden in a spare wheel. The paper, in which the money was wrapped, was stamped at a Swiss bank in Basel. The tourists confessed that they had re-

ceived all that in Bonn from the *Licht nach Osten* organization to be delivered to Georgiy Vins and his wife in Kiev.

U.S. professor of theology De Shalando and Zeidel, a West German, both claiming to be baptists, arrived at a Soviet border check point on June 14, 1974. A thorough inspection of their car revealed 3,400 Soviet roubles in cash. The money was to be delivered to baptists—raskolnikis. Two weeks later, Ionko and Timoshenko of West Germany were detained as they attempted to smuggle anti-Soviet literature to the USSR. Both identified themselves as Baptist pastors.

In May 1976, the Dutch tourists Van der Weide and Zellenberg, who were travelling in their car through Ukraine, were detained for illegal possession of over 1,000 copies of anti-Soviet publications and 1,000 West German marks hidden in five places of their car. The hiding places — four in the doors and one in the underside of the floor — had electronically-operated lids. The money and literature were on their way to the Vinses.

Similar hiding places were made in the cars of other "tourists" — Jureddina Breedveld from the Netherlands and Kathrine Vobora, a U.S. citizen. They came to the USSR with a mission from the Word and Deed religious organization, whose representative, Van der Kift, provided them with the car carrying 200 booklets and a large sum of money. In the Soviet Union, Nadezhda Vins, Georgiy Vins' wife, met the "tourists" and received the money.

It is noteworthy that in summer 1976 some "witnesses" appeared before U.S. Congress subcommittees to tel tall stories of how Christians in the Soviet Union were thrown to dogs to be torn into pieces and a lot more in the similar vein. These stories, evidently the product of raving minds, fell on receptive ears in the subcommittees dealing with international organizations, foreign policy and military problems.

Thus, one can easily discover a well-established pattern in the system of launching slanderous campaigns aimed at misinforming the general public in the West as to the state of affairs in the Soviet Union, and at applying political pressure to the Soviet Union. The methods used have been derived from the experience of intelli-

gence services and subversive anti-Soviet centers. For example, secret codes and instructions on how to use them in coding addresses were found in illegal possession of Kort and Siegert "missionaries" from West Germany. Among other items on the coding list were offset printing machines (A), automobiles (X), foreign currency (V), 8-8-Super cameras (C), listening devices (O), IBM duplicating machines (L), and even Geiger-Müller counters.

The CIA finances and directs the activities of another anti-Soviet clerical organization, Sweden-based Slavic Mission. This organization sends its emissaries to the Soviet Union who, pretending that there is nothing but the Bible on their minds, are engaged in anti-Soviet propaganda. Bengt Gunnar Persson, a Slavic Mission agent, admitted that he had smuggled anti-Soviet Swedish-published literature into the USSR. It was in Stockholm that the "appeal" of the members of Christian Churches in the USSR to the World Council of Churches had been composed, and then presented as an authentic thing brought from the Soviet Union. It was established beyond any doubt, though, that the said Bengt Persson, who had been directly involved in these despicable exploits, could hardly be described as a man of purely "religious interests". Prior to his involvement with his subversive secret operations, he had been trained at the military translators' courses, where he studied, among other things, the principles of interrogation of Soviet prisoners-of-war. His studies concerned religion in a very indirect manner and his religious stance was chosen as a cover for his anti-Soviet activities.

Although Bengt Gunnar Persson changed his name to become Sareld, he was identified and detained by Soviet border guards on June 6, 1977, together with his associate Nilse Erick Engstrem. Their car was found to have a hiding place containing anti-Soviet writings. Slavic Mission also provided the two Swedes with addresses of secret meeting places in the Soviet Union.

Sareld-Persson was at the head of the Eskilstuna branch of the Proklama firm controlled by Slavic Mission and financed by the CIA. Proklama is engaged mostly in "producing" anti-Soviet publications and is related to *Radio Ibra*, another large Slavic Mission-sponsored enterprise. After their return, Persson and his associate had to submit written reports to Slavic Mission describing,

among other things, the quality of reception of *Ibra's* anti-Soviet broadcasts in different areas of the USSR. Besides, when in the Soviet Union, they had to find new addresses which could be used later as secret meeting places. All the addresses and names had to be memorized and incriminating papers burnt. The information obtained was to be conveyed to the Mission Behind the Iron Curtain in Norway, the notorious London Center for the Study of Religion and Communism, headed by Michael Bordeau, the Andreus Organization in Holland, and several West German clerical centers. All the above organizations maintain contacts with Slavic Mission and could use the information for purposes similar to the ones pursued by Slavic Mission. Slanderous writings were planned for publication in the Slavic Mission-run periodical *Licht nach Osten.*

After the failure of their mission Sareld and Engstrem branded Slavic Mission as a political anti-Soviet center, which in the past carried out missionary work among the Russian and Slavic emigration. At present it has its headquarters in the vicinity of Stockholm. Following are some of the things Sareld and Engstrem said and wrote after their detention by Soviet authorities: "Slavic Mission leaders are hostile to the Soviet Union and misrepresent the status of religion in the USSR"; "Slavic Mission has forfeited the right to its name by pursuing disreputable goals"; "If Christians only knew what kind of activities Slavic Mission is involved in, they would stop giving their money to support it"; "We did not know anything about life in the USSR, we chose not to see anything around. We used tourism to cover up our true intentions", "We, in fact, interfered in the Soviet domestic affairs."

Socialist democracy ensures freedom of conscience for every Soviet citizen. In his interview to a Novosti Press Agency correspondent, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen said: "Freedom of faith is guaranteed by the USSR Constitution — the Fundamental Law of the country. All religious associations, the Russian Orthodox Church included, are treated on equal terms in their relation to the State, each ejoying self-administration. People are not required to declare their religious affiliations at the place of their employ; national census questionnaires do not include the question; pasports do not register the bearer's affiliation either. And it is like this in all

spheres of life. Soviet law makes answerable those guilty of infringement of civil rights of both religious laymen and clergy. Priesthood and laymen of all religions enjoy all the rights granted by the Soviet state to its citizens. They enthusiastically take part in the country's political, economic, and public life."

V. Kuroyedov, Chairman of the Council on Religious Matters at the Council of Ministers of the USSR, said: "The religious situation in our country is quite normal. The relationship between the state and church is not marked by any controversies or complications. But recently, as never before, slanderous campaigns misrepresenting the state of religion in the USSR have been stepped up. The West offers a wide spectrum of "activists" of various kinds who are much too eager to come out in defense of Church and religion in the USSR."

Soviet bodies of state power, adhering to the atheistic philosophy, make sure, nevertheless, that church does not suffer any restrictions in exercising its religious functions. Moscow in recent years by rights has become a center of throbbing activity of religious forces from many countries, aimed at securing peace. In 1977, Moscow hosted the International Congress of Religious Public Figures for Peace which was attended by representatives of millions of believers from one hundred countries. In 1978, a conference of religious public figures against the neutron bomb was held in Moscow, and Christians, Judaists, Muslims and Buddhists branded the neutron bomb as the very incarnation of evil and called upon believers world over to unite in the struggle against this new weapon of mass destruction. The attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union toward this kind of public activities can be defined in accordance with the provisions of the final document of the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe held in Berlin on June 29—30, 1976, which said that an important role in the struggle for the rights of the working people, democracy and peace was played by ever growing numbers of Catholics, representatives of other Christian church denominations and adherents of other creeds. Communist and workers' parties are aware of the necessity of keeping a dialogue and of taking joint action with those forces which are involved in the struggle for setting Europe on the

lines of development in the spirit of democracy and social progress.

The practical implementation of this policy is seen by many religious figures visiting the Soviet Union with open hearts and honest intentions. Fielding Clarke, Anglican pastor and theologist well known in the West, is one of them. He is the Vice-President of the English Regional Committee of Christian Peaceful Conference. In his book, *Christianity and Marxism*, F. Clarke tells readers in the West truth about religion in the USSR and the Soviet way of life. Clarke truthfully describes life of religious communities and freedom of conscience in the USSR as he saw it. F. Clarke also speaks of peace efforts of the Soviet Government, discusses international contacts maintained by Soviet religious communities and the part they play in peace movement.

In his book the English pastor exposes the slanderers and writes:

"I have visited the USSR eleven times. I knew personally several leaders of Soviet churches and have attended prayers in many temples in different parts of the USSR — from Leningrad in the North to Tbilisi in Georgia. The thought that believers are persecuted and fear to go to church is simply absurd.

"In Britain there are two organizations — one of them related to the USA — engaged in slanderous propaganda about religion in the USSR. They are the Center for the Study of Religion and Communism, and Underground Evangelism. Neither of them tells truth about religious services performed everywhere in the country. They speak only of those Christians and Jews who have violated Soviet laws and ran into conflict with the authorities. They distort entirely the true state of things.

"I find it regrettable and harmful that most British people accept without question the stereotype of the Soviet Union and its churches presented by our mass media, or by organizations (depending heavily on smuggled documentation) — such as the Center for the Study of Religion and Communism, Underground Evangelism, etc.

"Strong affection for the country and the feeling of solidarity unites all Soviet people, both believers and atheists, stresses F. Clarke. The new Russia, Soviet Union, has been built by both believers and unbelievers. They have feeling of a common thing done together. People in the West who talk sentimentally about loving the Russian people but hating the Soviet system forget that socialism is the life-style of all of them. There is no more possibility of the USSR reverting to capitalism than of the British returning to feudalism."

HUMAN RIGHTS "CHAMPIONS" FROM CIA

The aims and methods of the campaign "in defense of human rights" are obviously of a subversive character, and the CIA is once again among the most active instigators. The CIA is engaged in the elaboration of the "new initiatives in human rights movement", providing U.S. National Security Council (which is the principal body invested with the task of supporting human rights) with intelligence information. A special board, dealing with global problems has been set up within the CIA to meet the new requirements. The board is manned by the CIA employees who collect, as *Time* magazine wrote, good and bad news from the human rights front and make weekly reports to the President.

Actively engaged in the CIA's subversive operations are the CIA-controlled Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, the People's Labor Union, the so-called Samizdat International Research Center in Munich, and dozens of other anti-Soviet organizations and services. All of them are financed and directed by the U.S. intelligence service. The opportunities of the CIA to promote the "human rights" campaign have increased considerably through the CIA access to mass media of capitalist countries. Experts in ideological subversion believe that one dollar spent on propaganda may yield, as far as subversive influence upon the enemy is concerned, much greater effect than ten dollars spent on armaments, and engage in ideological subversion U.S. intelligence services and the CIA-controlled mass media.

Many American journalists and reporters from other countries, working for the CIA, plus anti-Soviet emigrant organizations, such as the PLU, were responsible for the creation of the myth about the "broad movement of dissidents in the USSR" and for the instigation of disturbances to be presented as representative of dissident "movement". PLU members and mass media with CIA connections press renegades into making slanderous statements and holding provocative press-conferences. They bribe their informants by bestowing on them international prizes, give out money and gifts and bask the renegades in publicity.

Foreign journalists visiting the USSR have ample opportunity to become familiar with life in the Soviet Union. Over 320 foreign journalists from 48 countries are accredited to Moscow. After the Helsinki Conference measures were taken to make the access of foreign journalists to the sources of information easier. In June 1976, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR billed a decree which allowed foreign correspondents to get into direct contacts with officials at ministries and other governmental bodies of the USSR, the Union Republics and public organizations' central bodies. During 1980 alone, the Soviet Ministry for Foreign Affairs press department arranged about 100 press conferences, where speaking were ministers, heads of governmental bodies and organizations, prominent Soviet scientists, workers of culture and men of the arts. Journalists are always invited to attend the most significant political occasions.

Since March 1976, foreign correspondents in the Soviet Union are allowed to travel more widely, with fewer formalities. According to the new regulations, journalists making individual trips — they numbered about 800 in 1979 — are placed on the same footing as diplomats. That means that they are no longer expected to apply for permission to travel over the USSR. It is enough to let the Ministry of Foreign Affairs know about the trip in advance of 24 to 48 hours (depending on the itinerary). In 1979 alone, the Ministry organized such journeys to more than 60 Soviet cities. On their routes the travellers may enjoy every opportunity to get into direct contact with the Soviet people, acquaint themselves with their work, everyday life, rest and leisure, and studies.

A lot of foreign journalists, when preparing to travel to the USSR, turn to various Soviet organizations (Novosti Press Agency, the State Committee on Radio and Television at the USSR Council of Ministers, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship with Foreign Countries, the USSR Journalists' Union, newspapers and magazines offices, etc.) with the request to assist them in meeting people and having talks with them and in collecting information. The Novosti Press Agency, in part, has rendered their professional help to more than 1,000 representatives of mass media from abroad. Over 600 journeys throughout the USSR were organized for them, the itin-

eraries encompassing 160 cities and towns in all the 15 USSR Republics. Their requests granted, foreign journalists could visit several thousand industrial and agricultural enterprises and farms and had talks with top executives at ministries and governmental bodies, with workers of science and culture, men of the arts, workers of different trades, famous sportsmen, etc.

Among the journalists, who have been assisted by the Novosti Press Agency, were correspondents of such periodicals as the *Time, The Washington Post, National Geographic* (U.S.A.); *Sunday Times, Financial Times, Observer* (Great Britain); *Stern, Süddeutshe Zeitung* (FRG); *Le Figaro* (France); *Stampa, Respubblica, Domenica del Corriere, Panorama* (Italy); *Globe and Mail* (Canada); *Expressen* (Sweeden), and others.

All these possibilities, provided for by the Soviet bodies, are often used, however, by mass media from bourgeois countries to the detriment of the USSR's interests. Behind this stays, first and foremost, the CIA of the United States of America.

From nowhere else but CIA-controlled sources of misinformation comes the story of "violations of human rights" in the USSR. Western mass media, inspired by the CIA, try to mislead public opinion in capitalist countries by putting out enemies of socialism as heroic personalities. The CIA provides foreign correspondent credentials to cover up those who engage in spying and ideologically subversive activities in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Robert Toht, a *Los Angeles Times* correspondent, was caught red-handed on June 11, 1977, receiving top-secret state documents from a Soviet citizen. The inquiry implicated R. Toht in having received classified information from a Ph. D. scientist, who headed a laboratory at a classified research institute. R. Toht wanted to turn the Soviet scientist into a permanent source of secret information which was of special interest to the Intelligence Agency of the U.S. Defense Department (IADD).

R. Toht's work in Moscow was highly appreciated by U.S. intelligance. Robert Waters, military attaché in Moscow and currently a Pentagon officer, informed him from Washington that he had been once again mentioned in encouraging terms in the Pentagon recently, when Wilson (Samuel Wilson, colonel-general, IADD's director) had

been giving briefing on results of his visit to Eastern Europe and Moscow.

A wide range of tasks assigned to Robert Toht (surely not by his paper) extended from collecting "facts" to be used later at the Belgrade Helsinki Accords Review meeting, to gathering top secret military information. At the inquiry he testified to receiving classified information from all sorts of miscreants.

Enough evidence was accumulated for arresting R. Toht and putting him on trial. He was allowed to leave the Soviet Union. By letting him go, Soviet authorities manifested their good will and concern for promoting Soviet-American relations.

Christopher Wren, *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow, also worked for the CIA. *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Literary Gazette) newspaper received letters from Soviet citizens in which they informed that Christopher Wren was engaged in activities which had nothing to do with his status of a journalist. Excerpts from these letters were published in the newspaper and they leave no doubt that Wren had been involved in collecting intelligence information. He took, for instance, photographs of a site in the town of Ust-Ilimsk which foreigners were not supposed to do. He also made acquaintance with an army officer's wife, Wren made attempts to elicit from her information about the missile unit her husband was serving in. In the city of Frunze, the correspondent tried to obtain classified information on one of the local factories. In the town of Aldan Wren persistently asked everybody he met whether there were any military units deployed in town, and whether military exercises were held in the area and what troops took part. The American journalist showed keen interest in tracing the power supply lines from the Yakutsk District Electric power plant to military units, etc. These are but a few facts testifying to Wren's being involved in activities incompatible with his journalist's status. Evidently, Christopher Wren followed in the footsteps of his boss, Arthur Sulzberger, editor of the *New York Times*, who had signed an agreement on collaboration with the U.S. intelligence service. Wren was well-trained to do a spy's job; in the past he served in the U.S. Army special purpose force.

In the USSR Wren collected intelligence himself and recruited the services of all sorts of miscreants to do the

job for him. He spread subversive propaganda, targeting, primarily, at youth.

Alfred Friendly, a *Newsweek* correspondent in Moscow engaged in similar activities. Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* wrote that Friendly hated everything that was Soviet and in his articles indulged in all kinds of insinuations and deceptions. Only those could please his heart who supplied him with anti-Soviet slanders in exchange for money and foreign-made things. The Soviet newspaper spoke of Friendly's particular interest, to say the least, toward classified military information. The paper quoted letters of three Soviet citizens whom Friendly had tried to turn into his informants during his visits to Leningrad, Vilnius and other Soviet cities. It became known that in the vicinity of Khorezm in Soviet Central Asia he wanted very much to find out whether there were any troops stationed in the area. One letter to *Izvestiya* said: "The nature of questions asked by this gentleman, the arrangements he makes as condition for meeting him, the things he says make one doubt whether he is really a journalist or whether he uses his journalistic credentials to cover up his true occupations?"

In looking for a reply to this question *Literaturnaya Gazeta* newspaper revealed some facts from Friendly's biography: he graduated from a military school of foreign languages (Russian department) in the town of Monterey near San Francisco. This educational institution is known to enroll students from the U.S. Army and special services and trains them for subsequent employment by the CIA, the Peace Corps, and the newly-formed International Communications Agency, and other similar organizations. Being a *Newsweek* correspondent was only a cover for Friendly's subversive activities in Moscow. After his expulsion from Moscow, this man switched to work on the U.S. Congress committee on security and cooperation in Europe, which unilaterally took upon itself the task of verifying implementation of Helsinki Accords by socialist countries. This CIA agent was promoted to the position of a departmental head in the said committee. Certain Committee's papers are even marked "For additional information turn to Alfred Friendly".

Former Associated Press correspondent in Moscow, George Krymski, had not only tried to defame the Soviet Union and the socialist way of life, but tried to engage

Soviet citizens into spying against their country. In order to obtain classified information concerning Soviet Armed Forces, Krymski attempted to involve a serviceman into collaboration.

The Columbia Broadcasting System for all practical purposes has been turned into a CIA branch and many of its correspondents have functionned as secret agents. William Paley, CBS Director, made it compulsory for CBS correspondents to work for the CIA, and sanctioned the twenty-four-hour duty by CIA men in the CBS studios in order to monitor the radio and TV broadcasts coming from abroad which could have importance for intelligence.

It has been definitely established that not less than eight hundred CIA agents work at present in mass media. Here one finds *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, *The New York Times, Christian Science Monitor*, and *Wall Street Journal*, the United Press International and Associated Press, the CBS and NBS TV companies. Some Swedish newspapers, the Dutch *Dagens nuchetter* and the Italian *Giorno* newspapers are linked with the CIA. Bourgeois press is thus used by the CIA as a weapon in the "cold war" against the Soviet Union.

Karl Bernstein in his article *CIA and the American Press (The Rolling Stone*, October 20, 1977) revealed names of many journalists collaborating with the CIA. The article claims that these journalists were involved in secret operations ranging from collecting of intelligence through conventional channels and up to working as liaison agents between the CIA and spies in socialist countries. Activities of such American "journalists" include recruiting of agents amongst foreigners, controlling their work, collecting and assessing information, and pushing prepared information to foreign officials.

A number of journalists signed secret agreements with the CIA, and pledged never to reveal their relations with the Agency. Some worked according to signed contracts. Well-known observers Sulzberger from *The New York Times*, Joseph Olsope and the late Stewart Olsope, a contributor to *The New York Herald, Saturday Evening Post* and *Newsweek*, were proved to be CIA agents. Reports on special assignments carried out by these journalists are kept in the CIA files.

A high-ranking intelligence officer revealed that Stew

Olsope had been a CIA agent. On instructions from the CIA Olsope took part in talks with members of foreign governments, asked questions the CIA wanted him to ask, spread misinformation designed to benefit the United States. He was on the look-out for opportunities to recruit agents from among high-ranking foreigners. Sulzberger signed and published in *The New York Times* his articles which were in fact a word-for-word presentation of materials prepared by the CIA.

In January 1976, *The New York Times* wrote that the Congress was of the opinion that practically every major periodical and news agency could be used to cover CIA activities.

The CIA buys journalists working for Reuter, France Press, Sinhua and journalists in dozens of papers throughout the world, wrote *Columbia Journalism Review* in its thouroughly researched article on the problem of CIA's infiltration of mass media. Foreign journalists accredited to other countries are used chiefly for publishing misinformation. According to a former CIA executive, McCoy, in Italy journalists on the CIA pay gathered information about those political figures whom American diplomats or other CIA agents have failed to establish contacts with. In Spain they were paid for providing information on Spanish military installations located in the regions which they could visit on a decent pretext. In Eastern Europe they were asked to observe things which could be later used by CIA agents for their purposes.

At present many Western journalists, scientists and scheming politicians on CIA missions serve the evil cause of confrontation and discord, rejecting ideas of cooperation and detente laid down in the Helsinki Accords.

It is common knowledge that misinformation accompanying any ideological subversion would not have a persuasive energy unless it had a verifiable source. Maligners are needed to make fraudulent information look truthful. The CIA finds such people and uses them for the anti-Soviet propaganda. One Abram Shifrin had become such a maligner. He cooked up an anti-Soviet film, which was released later in the West, widely publicised, and shown on TV in many countries. Anti-Soviet publications carried pictures from this film supplied with blood-freezing captions. Numerous magazines showed a photo featuring children wearing striped bath-robes. The

accompanying caption stated the photo had been "obtained in a roundabout way from a Soviet jail." Shown in the picture, however, were not juvenile prisoners but tiny tots from a kindergarten in the town of Torgau, the German Democratic Republic, after they had swum in a swimming pool. Such inventions make up the groundwork of the entire film.

It should be pointed out here that Abram Shifrin has been working for the CIA for years. In 1953 it was found out that he maintained his criminal contacts with a CIA officer, James Harvey, posing as a diplomat in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Shifrin was then sentenced by a Soviet court to a prison term for espionage and collaboration with U.S. intelligence service. After he left the USSR for Israel in 1970, he resumed his links with U.S. secret service. CIA men in the West mass media secured wide publicity for Shifrin. His previous services, too, were remembered. West German magazine *Quick*, which didn't consider it below its dignity to publish Shifrin's low prevarications, said that the man was "receiving financial support from the U.S.A.".

Soviet daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda* published an article by Yusef Erlikh, Odessa Radio commentator, exposing Abram Shifrin. He wrote, in part, that after Shifrin was released from jail, he remained, for some time, in the USSR since he wanted to collect materials for anti-Soviet film. He put it bluntly: I want to profit from the film. A number of countries in the West would be eager to buy it and money will roll in.

After he moved to the West, Shifrin sent Erlikh a message with details on how and what to shoot for the film. Erlikh, moved by his patriotic sentiments and honesty, reported Shifrin's intentions to Soviet state security authorities. Erlikh did make a film though showing hospitals, trucks to carry furniture, and such like everyday things and Shifrin passed it off for "psychiatric jails", and "vehicles to transport prisoners", etc.

Ignoring the exposing story in *Komsomolskaya Pravda, Quick* published a number of stills from Shifrin's film. The first was a blurred picture of an unidentifiable street in an unidentifiable town with some people in it. A poorly made picture by an amateur. The caption reads: "At a first glance it seems to be a crowd on a street in the town of Volgsk (there's no such place in the So-

viet Union — *Auth.*). In fact, the picture shows KGB men arresting baptists at a religious service". It is absolutely impossible to see in the picture either a religious service in progress or guess that people in it are necessarily baptists. As is known, baptists in the USSR are free to conduct religious services and the legal authorities are invested with the power to ensure the observance of state laws which guarantee freedom of conscience and performance of religious rites.

In another picture some women, with their kerchiefs on, could be seen unloading pieces of slate from a freight car. The caption claims that the women are prisoners. But why then, incidentally, are they wearing light summer dresses and not prison uniforms?

The caption to the picture showing three men in militia uniforms reads that they are officers in a penal colony. It is known, however, that the militia are not engaged for duty at penal colonies. This is a responsibility of the Ministry of Internal Affairs whose employees wear uniforms very much different from that of the militia. So, falsification is quite obvious.

The caption to the photo of a man, getting out of a motor van with a suit case in his hand, claims that the man has just arrived at a penal colony. But if one looks close enough, one can easily see that both the car and the license plate are distinctly foreign.

Soviet law-enforcing bodies are well-acquainted with Shifrin. In the West, however, he was presented as a "great sufferer" who, at first, had been sentenced to death, which was later commuted to twenty-five years. The true story runs a little differently.

Shifrin was born in Minsk, capital of Byelorussia, and not in Moscow as was stated by *Quick*. In 1923, he received secondary education and was enrolled at Moscow Institute of Law. As the war broke out, Shifrin was drafted into the Red Army and dispatched to a reserve infantry battalion. He had never turned up to report for duty at the assigned place, and managed, by fraud, to find a place to serve somewhere in the rear.

In 1942, in order to obtain privileges due to soldiers wounded in battle, Shifrin forged two certificates which falsely testified that he had been badly wounded. The fraud was discovered but the military law-enforcing authorities took only disciplinary action against Shifrin.

This measure, under the conditions of war time, was obviously a very human act, for there was enough evidence to open a criminal case.

After the war Shifrin studied at the All-Union Institute of Law (taught by correspondence). He resumed his studies from the third year course since he produced a forged certificate testifying that he had already completed three years.

Upon graduation, Shifrin got a job as a senior legal advisor at a small arms factory in Tula. *Quick* claimed that Shifrin had found a job in the Ministry of Military Industry. There, in Tula, in 1953, Shifrin was put before a court on the charge of blackmailing his clients and extorting bribes from them. Dozens of witnesses were called to the bar during court proceedings and produced irrefutable proofs of his guilt.

Shifrin's guilt was proved, and he pleaded guilty. "I told lies many times in my life. I lied once and I couldn't help lying again", said Shifrin in his confession. Yet, this time he was lucky again: amnesty was announced and Shifrin didn't go to jail. Several' months later, however, he offered his assistance to the U.S. intelligence service and passed over to it some secret materials. This was punished by a ten-year term of imprisonment.

After he was released in 1963 — not in 1969 as *Quick* suggested — Shifrin worked at a furniture repair factory in Odessa, and then taught at a vocational school. In 1970, he was granted permission to leave the USSR for permanent settlement in Israel.

In the years that followed, Abram Shifrin toured the United States appearing before audiences with slanderous statements. The tour was organized by Zionists. He was invited to speak before a U.S. Senate subcommittee and at the Congressional National Security Committee. Statements made by Shifrin were used by some public figures as a pretext for political maneuvering. Some U.S. Congressmen expressed "deep concern and indignation" in connection with the brutalities suffered by Shifrin who posed himself as a "political prisoner". Soon afterward Shifrin engaged in making an anti-Soviet film.

As Yusef Erlikh found out upon leaving the USSR, Shifrin did not only make films but did some spying for

the CIA. During their meeting in Vienna, for example, Erlikh was instructed to find, with the help of Soviet people, answers to some CIA questions.

"Once Shifrin told me he was going to introduce me to a very interesting person", wrote Erlikh in his testimony. In Shifrin's car, license plate number 586440, I came to meet him at a hotel, (55, Wagramstrasse, Room 4, tel. 221339). At the hotel he introduced me to Stepan Mudrik, calling him his friend, and asked me to help Stepan".

Stepan Mudrik turned out to be a former Banderite* and gestapo thug, whose hands were stained with blood of Soviet people. At present, he is one of the Ukrainian Nationalists' leaders, a CIA agent engaged in subversive activities against the USSR.

During his TV appearances in the West Shifrin tried to arouse hatred and hostility toward the USSR. Falshoods and muddy torrents of lies about the Soviet way of life were followed by Shifrin's hysterical calls to impose "boycott on trade with the USSR, to stop tourism to the USSR, to refuse political and scientific contacts and ignore Soviet shows." The agent saboteur was earning his pay.

The CIA inspired "human rights champions" all over the world poison minds with lies, slander and misinformation. The sinister alliance of the CIA and mass media of imperialism produced an unprecedented number of inventions about the Soviet Union. Guss Hall, U.S. Communist Party General Secretary, observed that the CIA, FBI and mass media spent billions of dollars to spread the big lie in order to engulf the American people in monstrous delusions.

ESPIONAGE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The noble principle of defense of human rights has been twisted around by special services in some Western states in a manner suitable for interference in the USSR's domestic affairs and espionage against the Soviet Union. Soviet citizen S. Lipavsky, in his open letter to the Soviet

* Member of Ukrainian nationalists' gangs led by S. Bandera during and immediately following the War of 1941—1945, responsible for atrocities against Soviet civilians in Western regions of the Ukraine.

newspaper *Izvestia*, describes the means employed to cover up espionage against the USSR "with the defense of human rights". Starting from 1972, he was linked to a number of persons, involved in subversive activity against the USSR. These people applied for exit visas and were refused because they had had access to state secrets. Instigated by special services of some Western countries, they used the refusal as a pretext for speculating on the human rights issue. They were politically inspired and practically guided by foreign intelligence services and foreign anti-Soviet organizations. Through illegal channels they were regularly provided with instructions, anti-Soviet literature, and money. Their activities were guided by D. Azbel, A. Lerner and V. Rubin. Since S. Lipavsky was a kind of secretary to V. Rubin and the archives keeper, he was kept informed of every plan and action aimed at doing harm to the USSR.

In 1972, Lipavsky learnt that these people maintained contacts with diplomats of some foreign embassies and correspondents accredited to Moscow. At the apartments of V. Rubin and A. Lerner, these visitors and some other emissaries of anti-Soviet centers visiting the USSR held discussions and gave recommendations whose essence was to distort the problems of civic freedoms and human rights in the USSR. Some time ago, a story was launched thanks to dogged endeavors of foreign correspondents, concerning the so-called hunger-strikes staged by V. Rubin and D. Azbel. Outside the USSR, such moves were presented as desperate attempts to draw public attention, throughout the world, to the "problem" one faces in leaving the Soviet Union. Lipavsky, a doctor, kept an eye on Rubin's and Azbel's health during the "hunger strike". He testifies that "martyrs" had meals in time being assured in advance that foreign correspondents wouldn't betray them. In this very manner all sorts of "demonstrations" were conducted, in collusion with foreign correspondents, arranged as noisy "protest" campaigns to be further presented by the Western press as conflicts between "dissidents" and Soviet authorities.

In order to "step up" the emigration from the Soviet Union and raise hullabaloo around the alleged non-existence of democratic freedoms in the USSR, the provocateurs took up to organize illegal conferences in Moscow covered up as the "International Physicists' Confer-

ence", "the International Conference on Jewish Culture," etc. Invitations were sent to prominent foreign scientists, Nobel prize winners, and so on and so forth. Being fully aware that they get round the state and scientific institutions and, therefore, wouldn't find any support from Soviet authorities, the promoters of these ideas made stakes on drawing the world public opinion toward the "obstacles created by Soviet authorities in the way of international scientific and cultural exchange". This had to be done with the help of foreign corespondents.

A. Lerner suggested that information should be secretly collected about the Soviet institutions and enterprises working for the defense industry in order to stop the Western firms supplying technology to the USSR. After he left the USSR, V. Rubin was supposed to hold consultations on the subject with respective special service and to inform A. Lerner and S. Lipavsky of the results.

In 1974, at Rubin's appartment, Lipavsky was introduced to a foreign intelligence officer who, afterwards, asked Lipavsky to do him a "favor" the essense of which was to engage one of the heads of a research institution in espionage. That man was an old acquaintance of Lipavsky's and had access to important defense information. Judging by the instructions worked out by a foreign intelligence service and passed over to Lipavsky, the man had been viewed, already, as an agent obliged to fulfill whatever order he might receive. A microfilm, containing the instructions, was tightly rolled and hidden in a Parker pen. Lipavsky was instructed to recruit the said man. Lipavsky's request, expressed earlier, for assistance in securing permission for him to leave the USSR for permanent residence abroad was answered that it would directly depend on the results of his espionage activities. He secretly received 400 roubles of advance payment. That was followed with a "parcel" containing as much as 800 roubles and picked by Lipavsky in a hiding place. The requirements were getting increasingly bigger and the money was accompanied with a big questionnaire listing some one hundred items covering defense enterprises, various types of weapon, etc. Lipavsky was ordered to receive each other piece of information at a different place; once in the Minsk St., another time near the Vernadsky thoroughfare, or out of town in the direction of Dmitrovsky

highway, and even in Tsvetnoy Boulevard, downtown Moscow.

It was not only hiding places that were used. Every now and then it was turned over to secret agents, during direct contacts, by means of exchanging notes in a self-erasing pad.

Later, Lipavsky testified: "I was convinced that hidden behind the mask of "human rights" champions are adventurers and blackmailers whose basic aim is to secure publicity and ensure a permanent source of income somewhere abroad by means of arranging provocations and rendering assistance to reactionary forces in the West. I was a witness to incessant squabbles among A. Lunts, M. Azbel and A. Lerner over the issue of leadership and distribution of money received from abroad. I was getting increasingly convinced that the activities of these accomplices would only do harm to Soviet people. The facts have convinced me that the hullabaloo raised in the West about the 'human rights' was naked interference in the domestic affairs of the USSR and other socialist countries. This campaign may not be viewed differently."

S. Lipavsky had, just in time, reconsidered what he was doing. He escaped involvement in criminal espionage activities and disclosed the foreign recruiters, which, unfortunately, was not the case with A. Shcharansky, tried in Moscow in the summer of 1978.

On July 10—14, 1978, the court collegiate on criminal cases of the Suprime Court of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), presided by member of the Supreme Court P. Lukanov, investigated the criminal case of Anatoliy Shcharansky. He was accused of high treason in the form of espionage and of assisting a foreign state in conducting hostile activities against the USSR, and in the anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. (These offences were punishable according to Article 64, clause "a" and part 1 of Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR).

A. Shcharansky, born in 1948, has a higher education, single, prior to his arrest resided in the town of Istra, Moscow Region.

Long before Shcharansky was put before a court, Zionists and special services in the West had launched a campaign to protect the "dissident" Shcharansky. On the eve of opening the court proceedings, the American au-

thorities ostentatiously abrogated the departure of two delegations to the Soviet Union which intended to take part in a Soviet-American conference on scientific cooperation and problems of environmental protection. In connection with Shcharansky's case, Western press began to question the nature of political relations, trade and cultural exchanges with the USSR, as well as the talks on stopping the arms race and the policy of detente in general.

At a press conference, held in New York, Senator Javits said that the trial of Shcharansky may well affect the relations between the USA and the USSR. Senator Moinihen threatened that the U.S. Government would cancel deliveries to the Soviet Union envisaged by respective agreements. Senator R. Dole stated that the new American-Soviet agreement on strategic arms limitation could be jeopardized — just as it happened to "all bilateral and multilateral agreements joined by the USSR", if Shcharansky would be brought to trial. "The struggle is only beginning!" warned Congressman Drinan. This was immediately followed by a Radio Liberty statement: "Western Europe holds the opinion that Shcharansky's trial might most negatively affect the Belgrade meeting."

A private investigation of Shcharansky's case was run in the United States by Senator Church, lawyers Chesterfield and Smith, and others. After a "respective hearing of the case" was staged, these gentlemen "rejected Shcharansky's guilt". Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* wrote in this connection: "Soviet bodies of justice may, from now on, be closed down. American lawyers will themselves take care of enforcement of law and order in the USSR. Apparently they set off to edit Soviet laws..."

This witches' sabbath reached its apotheosis when a Zionist organization, the League of Struggle Against Defamation, gave 5,000 dollar prize to Shcharansky, to be shared with notorious Sakharov.

What's the reason for such a zealous intercession on Shcharansky's behalf and so high stakes put on the political speculations round him? The point is that he had long been a Zionist militant, urging Soviet Jews to emigrate. Shcharansky's departure for Israel was suspended by Soviet authorities on the grounds of his having had state secrets. Shcharansky, however, was far from displaying patience while awaiting a permit. He indulged in

collecting secret information, instead, to be later transferred to a foreign intelligence service.

The testimony was thoroughly examined in the court as regards Shcharansky's engagement in gathering secret information (which he did either in person or through employing associates) pertaining to the deployment and the departmental subdivision of a number of defense industries, enterprises and the related projects, their status and information on top executives. All this information, with all precautions taken, was regularly sent by Shcharansky to some Western countries until he was apprehended in March 1977.

It was established by the court that Shcharansky had prepared and sent abroad not fewer than seventeen fabricated documents which were used in the West for the aims hostile to the Soviet Union. Those were the so-called appeals, reviews and letters based on slander, all of them fomenting hostility toward the USSR. In this manner Shcharansky strived to push political circles in the West to exertion of pressure on the Soviet Union and interference in its domestic affairs. By spreading out slander about the USSR, Shcharansky hoped to earn political and monetary capital. While going to leave the USSR, he hoped to secure, in this way, comfortable life abroad.

During the trial the state prosecutor addressed Shcharansky with the words: "Defendant Shcharansky, in your materials you've written many times that Soviet Jews suffer from discrimination. Have your family been ever exposed to discrimination?" There was nothing Shcharansky could say in response. So he remained silent. Then the prosecutor read out an official document testifying that Shcharansky's mother, father and a brother, just like he himself, had received higher education in the USSR. Everybody had a job which fitted his or her qualification. After graduation from the institute, Anatoliy Shcharansky was employed as an engineer, later a senior engineer at a research institution in the defense industries. There he was promoted to higher position. He was treated by state authorities with trust and had an access to top secrets of the Soviet state. This once again testified to the fact that neither Anatoliy Shcharansky himself nor his family had ever been subjected to discrimination.

"In the materials sent to the West you more than once wrote that those Soviet Jews who had applied for leaving

the Soviet Union were immediately sacked. Did this happen to you personally after you had submitted such an application?" was another question posed by the prosecutor. Shcharansky answered that it hadn't. He himself quit the work as it distracted him from "public activities."

Shcharansky took part in the fabrication of two slanderous letters to American Senators and Congressmen about persecution and repressions allegedly suffered by those who wanted to emigrate from the USSR. The above materials were used to urge statesmen in the West to interfer in the Soviet Union's domestic affairs. It is evident that Shcharansky, in the interests of Zionist circles, spared no efforts to step up the emigration of Jews from the USSR by inciting national discord and calling to exert pressure on Soviet authorities from the outside. For example, during the talks with Lerman (one of the leaders of *Sokhnut*, an international Zionist organization), held in Moscow in September 1975, Shcharansky tried to persuade his interlocutor to use every opportunity at the disposal of international Zionism to make the United States discontinue deliveries of grain to the Sovet Union. So it boiled down to the mounting of economic pressure on the USSR.

In February 1976, Shcharansky took part in the preparation and distribution, among the representatives of Western countries in Moscow, of the letter addressed to a conference of Zionists, held in Brussels. The letter contained fabricated information on the "increasing antisemitism and discrimination of Jews in the USSR". Under this pretext, the international Zionist organizations were called to interfere in the USSR's domestic affairs and infringe upon its interests and prestige.

In late 1976, a letter was prepared by Shcharansky and his associates urging that Senator Jackson's amendment to the bill on the U.S.-Soviet trade, discriminative against the USSR, should remain valid. The letter, containing fabricated information, was smuggled abroad and used by supporters of the amendment as an argument laying ground for confirmation of their reactionary stand, for harming the relations between the USSR and the U.S.

It was also Shcharansky who stood behind the political campaign in favor of the emigration of those very people whose departure from the Soviet Union was temporarily suspended. The reason for suspension was their

access to USSR's top secrets. The defendant undoubtedly was well aware of which kind of services in the West showed interest in such people. Moreover, he was collecting secret information among the so-called "refused" (i. e. those who were not granted permission to leave) to be turned into foreign spies. Simultaneously it was established that in order to harm the Soviet Union politically Shcharansky idulged in concocting "lists of citizens barred from leaving for Israel". To this end, he listed either those who had long ago fled from the USSR, or those who had never expressed desire to leave the country. It turned out, however, that a lot of people who had allegedly signed the Appeal to the West, cooked by Shcharansky, were completely unaware of the fact. As the investigation revealed, some 30 signatures, under one of such appeals, belonged to Shcharansky himself.

Shcharansky was well aware for whom he was working. He realized also that his materials were used in the West for the purposes detrimental to the Soviet Union and its people. Thus Shcharansky was involved in aiding those circles in the West which concentrated on doing harm to the Soviet Union and interfering into its internal affairs.

After Shcharansky's trial in Moscow ended, his masters, trying to shield him, undertook to persuade the public at large that his punishment was undeserved.

To dramatize the situation, a myth was created about the "tragedy of the Shcharanskies" easily believed by certain public figures in a number of Western countries. Starring as Shcharansky's poor wife was Natalia Shtiglitz, who actually had never been married to Anatoliy Shcharansky. This woman staged a fictitious "religious wedding" with Shcharansky a day before she had left for Israel. The "marriage" was registered in an unvalid certificate called *Ketuba*. This was done in order to enable Natalia Shtiglitz to play the role of Shcharansky's "legitimate wife" living in a Western country, to accuse Soviet authorities of having "separated the family".

"This looks like a downright mistification" stated Ya. Fishman, a rabbi from Moscow. Together with President of the Moscow Jewish Religious Community S. Kleiman, he signed an appeal to the Districtal Rabbinate of Jerusalem of April 4, 1978. The appeal reads that the religious marriage of Shtiglitz and Shcharansky cannot be looked upon as valid since it violates canons of Judaism,

First, Natalia Shtiglitz was born to a Russian mother and, being a Russian, according to Jewish canons, she could not have married a Jew.

Second, no information was discovered testifying to the fact that Natalia Shtiglitz had been converted into Judaism. Moreover, in *Ketuba* Shtiglitz is named "Natalia, daughter of Shimon". This proves that she did not take up Judaism since, as is widely known, women of other religions on their conversion into Judaism, are given the name Sara, and men belonging to different creeds are named Abraham. Only under these names may they be registered in *Ketuba.*

Third, Shcharansky's allegation that Shtiglitz had accepted Judaism only in order to marry him appears to be blasphemy as far as Judaism is concerned. The adoption of Judaism can only be valid in case it involves none other aim but a sincere desire, the knowledge of Torah and Moses' Law.

In a Moscow court, Shtiglitz's applications to OVIR (Visas and Registration Department) were presented and branded as not valid. The applications carried Shtiglitz's request to speed up her reunion with her "husband".

Here is a word-for-word record of the dialogue between the prosecutor and Shcharansky.

Prosecutor: In January 1975, Shtiglitz wrote to OVIR, "A son was born to our family a fortnight ago and we, already two of us, have been looking forward to reuniting with our husband and father".

Shcharansky: I have never passed over to OVIR such application from her.

Prosecutor: But it couldn't come to you. She sent it to OVIR...

Shcharansky: I've never known of such an application of her's to be sent to OVIR.

Prosecutor: You've never known?

Shcharansky: No.

Prosecutor: Here is volume 45 of the case records, page 226 (shows it to the defendant). You've read this.

Shcharansky: Yes. (Laughter heard in the hall).

Prosecutor: I inquire, is there a child involved or not?

Shcharanksy: Well, I say once again that no such application from Natalia Shtiglitz has ever come to me. (Laughter heard in the hall.)

The fictious marriage, speculation on the nonexistent son and misinformation of public opinion, all this is aimed at evoking sympathy and mercy to the criminal convicted of espionage and slander.

It was established in the court that Shcharansky had committed a crime punishable by par. "a" of Article 64 of the Criminal Code of the Russian SFSR, i. e., treason to the Homeland through assistance rendered to foreign states in conducting hostile activities against the USSR, and espionage. Apart from this, Shcharansky, acting with the purpose of undermining and weakening Soviet power, made and kept, intending to distribute, and distributed among a wide circle of persons, including foreigners, materials containing slanderous fabrications blackening the Soviet state and public order. These materials were intended to be used by anti-Soviet centers and bourgeois mass media in the ideological subversion against the Soviet Union. That means that Shcharansky has committed a crime punishable by Article 70, part 1, of the Criminal Code of the Russian SFSR. For that particular crime he was sentenced to 13 years of imprisonment.

Materials of Shcharansky's case have proved that special services in the West, hidden behind the smokescreen of championing for human rights and "monitoring the realization of Helsinki Accords", and other humanstic motives, use "dissidents" to collect intelligence information, conduct political and propagandistic actions. All this is aimed at blackening the Soviet Union and undermining its prestige in the international arena.

ATTACKS ON PSYCHIATRY

The 6th World International Congress of Psychiatrists which took place in Honolulu in August — September 1977 was turned, by efforts of those forces which use psychiatry for propagandistic aims, into a slanderers' fair. The very atmosphere at the Congress proved unfavorable for holding fruitful scientific discussion. From the very start, the Congress was subjected to pressure by anti-Soviet elements who tried to stir up hostility toward the Soviet Union. Slanderous anti-Soviet literature was widely circulated at the Congress, statements and appeals were spread directed against Soviet psychiatry. Attempts were made to show the so-called "victims" of Soviet psychiatrists to the participants in the Congress. The "open session" appeared to be nothing but a crude political farce rather than a scientific discussion of important ethical

issues. And the reports delivered by delegates from Israel, South Korea and a number of other countries, conveyed the air of uncovered defamation absolutely inadmissible in a non-political scientific conference attended by representatives from all over the world.

The Honolulu Congress of psychiatrists turned out to be the apogee in the campaign, hostile to the Soviet-Union, which had been on the rampage throughout a number of recent years. The campaign was launched to expose the alleged cases of detaining mentally sane people in Soviet insane asylums for political reasons.

This is what Academician A. Snezhnevsky, head of the Soviet delegation, said at the 5th World Congress of Psychiatrists in Mexico (1971) about the first actions in line with this campaign:

"No sooner had the convocation of the congress of psychiatrists in Mexico been declared, the slanderers started to publish their articles regularly in the American, British and some other West-European press, claiming that 'dissidents' in the Soviet Union are put in insane asylums. I've been engaged in psychiatry for about half a century now and cannot recollect at least one instance when a healthy man had been committed to a mental hospital. This slander, however, was used at the Congress in order to exert pressure on its organizers. So they were faced with the demand to hold a special plenary meeting dedicated to the "analysis" of the allegation. We guessed that an apparent anti-Soviet provocation was being mounted and came out with a decisive protest.

"Our opinion was shared by psychiatrists from a number of countries. The Secretary-General of the Interantional Association of Psychiatrists had told us that some large organization, akin to the CIA, was placed behind the campaign. Any small organization would have been simply unable to launch a campaign on such a scale. Books, pamphlets, and other printed matter carrying slander were distributed in great numbers at the Congress."

Resolutions, put forth by British and Australian psychiatrists, were discussed at the Congress in Honolulu under conditions of pressure exerted on the Soviet delegate and his crude discrimination. In fact, he had the only opportunity to put a number of questions to the delegates of Britain, Australia and the USA. Yet, only some inarticulate answers could be heard in response. As far as the

Soviet proposal was concerned dealing with the ban of use of mentally disable persons for political propaganda aimed at stirring up hostility among peoples, it was not even brought to the assembly's notice.

Members of the Soviet delegation declared null and void the results of voting on the resolution proposed by the Royal College of Great Britain and the amendment put forth by an Australian College. The Soviet delegation, from the very beginning, spoke out against the existing voting system based on anti-democratic principles (votes were counted in accordance with the size of a monetary donation, i. e., were factually bought). The discriminative voting system and the disorderly procedure of counting votes (33 delegates voted against the resolution) allowed the anti-Soviet resolution to be pulled through by a majority of two votes. Meanwhile, three ballots, which corresponded to eight votes, were declared void.

A number of Western psychiatrists found themselves involved in a political campaign and deemed it possible to make ungrounded statements while they lacked authentic professional information. In order to establish truth, Soviet psychiatrists forwarded case records of the persons mentioned in the bourgeois press to the World Association of Psychiatrists executive committee to be professionally studied and sent further on to the national organizations (on condition of keeping professional secrecy and maintaining mutual trust).

Having studied the case records, a number of psychiatrists were convinced that the persons presented by Western propaganda as political "dissidents" had suffered from psychic diseases in their childhood and adolescence, and they were examined and treated by psychiatrists. In other instances, psychic disorders were traced only after people in question had committed a crime, during a trial or other judicial procedures. So, isolation of such patients was absolutely necessary.

Abiding by the principle of professional ethics, Soviet psychiatrists never submitted, for open publication in the press, case records of mentally disabled persons whose names had been widely used in the West for the anti-Soviet propaganda aims. These case records, however, were submitted to those foreign psychologists who took part in the international symposium on schizophrenia, held in the Soviet Union. On a number of occasions, Soviet psychia-

trists informed their foreign counterparts of all the issues of professional interest, including Soviet forensic medical examination methods and principles. A great number of Western psychiatrists visited research psychiatric institutions and hospitals in the Soviet Union, in part, the Institute of Psychiatry of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Bekhterev Institute of Psychoneurology, Serbsky Forensic Psychiatry Institute, and similar medical establishments.

In Honolulu, however, besides real psychiatrists, there were political dealers who pretended to have some relation to psychiatry. Among them Sidney Bloch (Great Britain) and Baruck Zubok (U.S.A.), both Zionists, and some others. In Honolulu, mentally disabled persons were used as a tool in political intrigues, for the most inhumane purposes. Who paid for all this? Definitely, that was done not from the World Association of Psychiatrists' funds, but from somebody else's. All these activities had been organized and directed by special services of the USA and Great Britain. A resolution adopted by the World Health Organization (WHO1551), the one on the role of a doctor in maintaining and strengthening peace, was also violated in this case. The resolution reads that doctors and other medical personnel, while fulfilling their professional duties, are called upon to play an essential role in the upkeeping and strengthening peace throughout the world. They must make their own contribution to doing away with, or at least lessening general uneasiness and disorder in the international sphere.

Soviet medical scientists consider all those who suffer from psychic diseases to be one of the most vulnerable groups of the population. Every possible measure should be taken to protect and improve the health of every such individual. The deliberate use of mentally insane persons for the aims of political propaganda is inadmissible. Soviet psychiatrists called on psychiatrists in different countries to take care for persons suffering from mental disability, should they happen to emigrate for some reason to these countries, and provide them with adequate medical treatment, if necessary with disease-prevention service. Also, exchanges of respective professional information, in strict conformity with the medical ethics requirements, should be encouraged. Professional secrecy should be observed at this, and the doctor ought to be guided, in his actions, exclusively by the interests of the patient's health

improvement. After the Honolulu Congress was over, the All-Union Society of Neuropathologists and Psychiatrists stressed in its special statement that from then on it would consciously and strictly abide by the principles of doctor's secrecy, ethics, and humaneness as it always did.

A well-known politician and public figure, member of Australian Parliament, Charles Brown, disclosed the true intentions of the organizers of the campaign directed against Soviet psychiatry. He had his materils published in the Australian magazine *Survey* (June, 1977). He wrote, in part:

I have had at my disposal facts drawn from primary sources which testify to the fact that a well-financed campaign of accusing Soviet psychiatrists of abusage relating to political dissidents in Soviet mental hospitals is nothing but cynical and inhuman fraud. Besides talking to Soviet psychiatrists, I have gathered research material from case records and comments by Western and Soviet psychiatry experts. All these materials show that the most savage campaign has been waged in the name of "human rights". In the West psychiatry is used for political aims when mentally sick aliens from the USSR are being involved in political speculation. Though often exposed to shocks, those really disable people are presented in different countries as political "dissidents" who allegedly underwent wrong psychiatric treatment in the Soviet Union. In this way former mental inpatients were mercilessly used by anti-Soviet circles in the West in line with a vicious propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union designed to undermine international relations.

Facts, drawn from case records, show that such callus manipulation by really ill people seriously aggravates the physical and psychic condition of those patients engaged in that cruel political mystification. A mentally weak woman was presented as a "victim of Soviet psychic terror," and, eventually, she hanged herself in the bathroom at her Paris apartment. Another case was fabricated as "an instance of persecuting Soviet dissidents." As a result, the man had to undergo compulsory psychic treatment in Paris. Still another so-called victim was cured in Washington and extradited back to his parents in the Soviet Union [1].

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[1] See *Survey*, June, 1977.

During his stay in the Soviet Union, after the World Assembly of Builders of Lasting Peace, held in Warsaw (May, 1977), was over, Charles Brown turned to the Press News Agency for assistance in securing a private meeting with Professor A. B. Snezhnevsky, Director of the Institute of Psychiatry of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Next day he was provided with a car and an interpreter and brought to the Institute of Psychiatry located in a park near Zagorodnoye Shosse not far from Moscow. There Ch. Brown was shown in and introduced to a charming woman whose English was perfect. That was Maya Shirina, Institute's Academic Secretary. She, in her turn, introduced Mr. Brown to Professor Snezhnevsky. Professor, likeable smiling man, invited him to a laid table with a usual Russian hospitality. Tea, coffee and biscuits were served.

We came over to business right away, writes Ch. Brown in his article published in *Survey*. He gives the following excerpt from the discussion he had with professor Snezhnevsky:

Question: In Australia, as in the West in general, mass media repeatedly reported facts which have allegedly taken place, of using psychiatry for political purposes so far as 'dissidents" are concerned — i. e., those who criticize the Soviet Union. What's your opinion of these statements?

Answer: The proofs, which we could easily produce, show that there can be only one answer. The campaign currently under way in the West is only one of the diversified forms of anti-Soviet propaganda. It's part of the efforts made by certain circles in the West in order to bring back to life traditions of the "cold war" against the Soviet Union. We regard this campaign as an attempt to use psychiatry as a weapon in the struggle against the Soviet Union.

The point is that the abusage of psychiatry for political purposes is taking place in the West where psychic patients are used as a means to reach political goals, to slander the Soviet Union.

Question: A couple of years ago the Soviet Union was the venue of an international symposium of psychiatrists. As far as I know, its participants were allowed to talk to the so-called "dissidents" from mental hospitals. What can you say about this?

Answer: This is a very important issue. The topic of the symposium was: "Aspects of Research into Schizophrenia". It was held in Yerevan and Tbilisi. At the end of the symposium leading Western psychiatrists were allowed to familiarize themselves with the case records and see the patients posed in the West as "victims"...

Question: How did those psychiatrists react?

Answer: Prof. E. Strömgren from Denmark and Dr. Howard Rome from the U.S.A. agreed that the studied cases were those of mentally disable people. In this connection they made statements in the press of their countries. Dr. Carlo Peris of Sweden had also made similar statement.

The rest of those present didn't say either "yes" or "no". Dr. Leider from Great Britain did not attend the symposium. He, nevertheless, came out with a phony statement concerning the so-called "abusage of psychiatry". I would also like to add that all the members of the World Association of Psychiatrists oppose this

slanderous campaign. It is well known that they had discussed this campaign and renounced it.

(Prof. Strömgren was subjected to intimidation. Attempts were also made to spoil his career. It was claimed that he lacked facts which could testify to the anti-Soviet campaign waged in Denmark as being slanderous. *The footnote by Ch. Brown*).

All Soviet citizens, psychiatrists included, feel indignant at the anti-Sovet ballyhoo, raised in the West, concerning the alleged misuse of psychiatry in the USSR against the so-called "dissidents". Professor R. Nadzharov, deputy director of the Academy of Medical Sciences Institute of Psychiatry, said in this connection: "I happened to be on the experts team examining various cases, those of the so-called 'dissidents' included. Never had I had any grounds to doubt the professional quality of diagnoses as regards the psychic condition of patients and the prescribed treatment. To my great regret, some patients were used as an instrument to achieve unsavory political goals which are themselves the premeditated violation of principles of humaneness. Being made the focus of political speculation, patients are often exposed to heavy nervous shocks. This, however, interests in the least those circles which look for immediate political results at the cost of human tragedies, which nervous diseases actually are. Those 'dissidents', who underwent treatment in Soviet mental hospitals and later emigrated, found themselves taken to mental hospitals elsewhere. Unfortunately, this had been predetermined, as these people had actually been ill."

Soviet legislation provides clear-cut guarantees to prevent inappropriate admission to mental hospitals. The inappropriate placement of a patient to a mental hospital, for no good reason, is punishable by law. The same is true about intentionally false statement of one's being in mental disorder.

An important judicial aspect manifests itself in the provision that a citizen can be admitted to a hospital against his will only by a court decision resulting from an investigation strictly stipulated by penal laws and the criminal code.

Patients, undergoing compulsory medical treatment, are eligible for an examination held once every six months by a commission consisting of expert psychiatrists. In case patient's health is considered to have improved, the

court, basing itself on this conclusion, resolves that compulsory treatment should be terminated.

In the Soviet Union, favorable conditions are provided for the public bodies, international included, to inspect Soviet psychiatric practice. The country's leading mental clinics, the V. Serbsky Central Research Forensic Psychiatry Institute among them, acquaints public at large with their numerous psychiatrists, and lawyers from other countries were more than once invited to visit these institutions and highly praised them.

Inspector-General of the French ministry of justice, George Fule, who is also Secretary-General of the International Criminology Society, had an opportunity to visit the Serbsky Institute. He said:

"I saw that in the Soviet Union expert examination by forensic psychiatry is treated most seriously, I should say, even more seriously than in France. At the Serbsky Institute examination is conducted by no fewer that three psychiatrists, and in some cases even more than three. They make a joint conclusion after a patient has been observed during nearly one month. All the insulting things written about the practice of expert examination employed in the Soviet forensic psychiatry is nothing else but a kind of anti-Soviet propaganda."

John Kenneth Wing, professor at the London Clinical Medical Institute and a leading British psychiatrist, visited a number of Soviet mental hospitals and research institutions. I am delighted with the Soviet system, said Professor Wing, because such institutions in the USSR are longing to bring people back to normal life. You've chosen the right direction in your activity. I could hardly find anything which might be criticized. I believe everything is all right. Many doctors could find it useful to be here and see how everything is arranged, and, on coming back home, to practically apply what has been seen.

A detailed article on Soviet psychiatry was published in the USA under the headline, *Special Information: the First American Mission on Psychiatric Treatment in the USSR*. The article was written by leading American psychiatrists including Stanley Ulls, director of the National Institute on Prophylaxis of Psychic Diseases; Walter Barton, head of the American Psychological Association; David Bazelon, Chief Justice of the U.S. Court of Appeals, District of Columbia; Mike Gorman, Administrative Direc-

tor of the National Committee on Fighting Psychic Diseases, a well-known public figure; Alan Miller, head of the Psychohygiene Department of the State of New York; Philip Sirotkin, director of the coordination program at the National Institute on Prophylaxis of Psychic Diseases, and Harold Visotski, director of the State of Illinois Psychiatric Department.

American specialists paid attention to forensic psychiatry. After they visited the V. Serbsky Institute, they made a statement that conclusions of Soviet expert psychiatrists were more than detailed and contained more useful information about the personality and the surrounding of the accused than conclusions submitted to the U.S. courts. As regards compulsory treatment, Russian criteria (in the opinion of authors of the article) were similar to American ones. In any case, those people who needed compulsory treatment ought to be forcibly hospitalized for their own good.

A number of foreign participants in an international symposium on psychiatry, hosted by Moscow, enjoyed an opportunity to make a thorough study of some instances, as claimed by Western press, of inappropriate admission of patients to mental hospitals allegedly for loyalty to their convictions. The experts found out that chosen as targets in Western propaganda's dirty game were people with serious mental disorders. Many of those on the team expressed deep discontent with the fact.

George Domezon, doctor at the St. Anna Mental Hospital in Paris, stated: "I've read, in our press, translations of texts written by those who criticize the Soviet system and are kept in mental hospitals. The content of these documents has been laid as the basis for disproving lawfulness of their hospitalization. Some of the reports, however, as regards the form in which they were produced to us, arouse involuntary associations with the texts written by people suffering from pathological disorders. All this leads me to express protest against the use of mental and other special institutions as a kind of scarecrow."

A lot of psychiatrists in the West are well aware that bourgeois propaganda in its attacks on the Soviet Union ignores the facts or twist them around. It is noteworthy, however, that in a number of instances psychiatrists who objectively comment on particular cases are subjected to

pressure from outside and made thereby either to join in slander campaigns or keep silent.

Some former inpatients of Soviet mental hospitals emigrated to different countries in the West. What was their lot? Were they discharged from hospitals as mentally capable, or needed further treatment at respective clinics as still suffering from psychic disorders?

The following are a number of examples answering, at least to some extent, these questions.

Patient Yu N., continuingly mentioned by Western propaganda as an example of prosecution of "dissidents" in the Soviet Union, was subjected to forcible treatment in Paris in 1976.

One A. D., a hippodrome stableman, and later an inpatient at a mental hospital. He was called by anti-Soviet propaganda as "a victim of psychiatric tyranny". On arrival in Israel, this "dissident" was placed in a mental hospital there.

"Writer" K., once citizen of the USSR, was also claimed to be "a victim of Soviet psychiatrists". In Britain this author of outrageous anti-Soviet concoctions was admitted, in his absence, to the Pen-Club. In Israel, though, where K. emigrated from the USSR, he was taken to an insane asylum.

Soviet citizen S. was proclaimed in the West "one of the leaders of the democratic movement in Russia" allegedly persecuted by Soviet psychiatrists for his political convictions. S. left the USSR for Israel where he was admitted to mental hospital in 1976.

One L. V., who was undergoing treatment on schizophrenia before he left the Soviet Union for Austria, sent a petition to the Amnesty International, containing his complaint that Austrian psychiatrists Hutter, Rotter, Gerstenbrant, Langer, Gross, and Pernhaupt stated he did suffer from schizophrenia. In his letter L. V. expressed disagreement with the Austrian doctors on the grounds that "the conclusion of Austrian psychiatrists proves in full the diagnosis of their Moscow colleagues from V. Serbsky Forensic Psychiatry Institute, Moscow Kashchenko Mental Hospital, the Eighth of March District Mental Hospital in Moscow, the district mental hospital of the town of Electrostal, and the district mental hospital of the town of Kotkov, Moscow Region."

Patient T. F., the author of senseless writings about the Soviet Union, was suffering from paranoic schizophrenia. And in the West he was immediately proclaimed to be a "victim of psychiatrists". Currently T. F. lives in the West. He was treated in the United States and Western Europe, but was not cured.

V. F. was treated for schizophrenia in the Soviet Union. A temporary improvement in his state was followed by a relapse. After treatment, V. F. was allowed to leave for home (under supervision by his relatives). He emigrated to the West and his treatment was resumed there.

The case of patient L.N. was in the focus of two letters by British psychiatrists published in the *News and Notes* magazine. The authors expressed concern in connection with the way the case was presented by the

Royal Institute of Psychiatry. Deep concern was voiced in these papers about the "increasing tendency" of the Royal Institute to create political tensions through means of psychiatry.

Detailed information on L.N's. life in the West provides clear evidence of his being exposed to incessant blackmail and pressure. Depending on his behavior (preconditioned by his psychic state), L.N. is promised either Napoleon's hat or a straight-jacket. His first eccentric appearances in Canada were followed by an article in the Winnipeg emigrant newspaper *Ukrainian Voice* to the effect that L.N. had to be kept in an insane asylum and never allowed out. Similar writings could be encountered in other papers.

Shortly upon his arrival in the West after he was discharged from a mental hospital in the USSR, L.N. was subjected to pressure from Ukrainian nationalists, Trotskyists, liberal democrats and democratic liberals who tried to win the man. By his confused statements he bewildered all of them, once declaring himself a Marxist, then "a socialist with human face," then the follower of the pop-singer Galich, a staff member of the Munich-based CIA radio station. Together with Trotskyists L.N. criticized "Soviet bureaucracy", but grievously hurt them by his statement that revolutions should go to oblivion because he was firmly convinced that those governments which faced the threat of revolution would not stop short of using hydrogen weapons against their own peoples.

Expectations of Ukrainian nationalists were clouded, however, by L.N.'s accusations (quite just, one should say) of their collaboration with the nazis and gestapo during the Second World War. "Your hands are smeared in blood. Together with Hitler you tortured Ukrainian patriots," shouted L.N. in the face of stunned people at the rally held at the Ukrainian Institute of America. Apparently being unaware to whom he speaks, L.N. added that the issue on a possible system of management in the Ukraine must be decided upon by the people themselves, and not by emigrants.

L.N. "offended" Senator Jackson at a meeting in defense of political prisoners, by having told him it was "immoral to keep silent about persecutions in Chile where terror reigns." The outraged crowd burst with, "Crazy. Put a strait-jacket on him."

Since then, L.N's fate has become directly dependant on the political essence of the viewpoints he expressed at the given time. He is either proclaimed a great scholar, and prophet, when the Soviet Union is attacked in his statements, or a madman, when he turns his rage against Western "democracy."

No doubt, in the USSR L.N. was treated more humanely than he was in the West where he is used, till now, as a pawn in the dishonest political game. Never the character of his disease was made public in the USSR. Moreover, he was never reproached for being ill. In the West, however, things are quite different. Every effort is exerted to provoke L.N. into a statement.

Whenever anti-Soviet propaganda proclaims a mentally disable person to be "a victim of psychiatry," Soviet doctors never let journalists into the details of his disease on grounds of humaneness and doctor's ethics. In the West, however, a number of conclusions (cited below) made by expert psychiatrists who had examined the sick, were published in bourgeois press. It is noteworthy that such "dissidents" are presented to the public in order to mislead public opinion.

Patient N., long spoken about in the West as being a "dissident" framed up by psychiatrists in the USSR, had suffered from schizophrenia long before her behavior acquired a clearly anti-social character. As testified by her relatives, N. began to show pathologic deviations from normal behavior when she was 19. It was then that slovenliness, once alien to her, was becoming pronounced and she was getting possessed by apathy.

When N. entered a university, she lapsed into depression and attempted to commit suicide. N.'s hallucinatory experiences increased. As she confessed to the doctor, who treated her, she could hear "voices from the ceiling." N.'s mother used to complain to doctors that her daughter was becoming increasingly aggressive and ignored her. The illness prevented N. from regular attendance of university classes and she had to discontinue her studies. N. made attempts to work, but each time she was admitted to a new job, she would soon quit it. Because of poor health, N. twice was an inpatient of mental hospitals, diagnosed as having "schizophrenia." It should be noted that at that time she was never reported to betray even slightest interest toward politics or public iife.

As can be seen from her case records, N.'s state during the treatment in mental hospitals was marked by inactivity and indifference toward herself and the surrounding. She treated relatives with extreme hostility and experienced morbid fear. Now and then she refused to take food without any obvious reasons.

During temporary improvements, or as medical doctors put it, remissions, N. was released from mental hospitals. She would then resume studies at the university or work for some time. Gradually, her behavior was becoming marked by longing to commit anti-social acts. Subjected to psychic examination at V. Serbsky Institute, N. bluntly denied any abnormality in her actions. Her being taken to mental hospitals she explained by "hostile intrigues of my mother".

N. emigrated and turned into a pawn in the hands of dishonest politicians.

Soviet psychiatrists, who observed and treated N., feel simpathy for their former patient suffering from an incurable desease schizophrenia. They condemn that this poor woman is involved by politicians in the West in their anti-Soviet intrigues, thus, doing still more harm to her health.

More than once Soviet medical doctors and public figures expressed their indignation in connecton with absurd inventions about Soviet psychatry spread in foreign countries. Mentally disabled people are made the object in this dirty game. This seems incredible. It is, however, true.

There is no doubt that screened behind this slanderous campaign are secret services in Western countries. All such attacks, either broadcast or published, are inspired by Amnesty International and its branches. In the 60s the relationship between this organization and the CIA of the United States was revealed. The matter was widely discussed by the press. At that very time it became known that Amnesty International was financed by the U.S. intelligence services. Tours of certain persons round the world, which only millionaires can afford, and their public appearance and absurd statements full of inventions are, by no means, financed by scientific circles. Somebody else but not at all Western scientists put out leaflets and books in mass circulations to mislead Western public at large.

It is clear that the campaign against Soviet psychiatry is launched and whipped up not by professional scientists,

true experts in the field. This campaign is being waged by CIA professionals who, while conducting anti-Soviet activities, attempt to misinform the international public.

Not a single mentally sound person has ever been kept in Soviet mental hospitals. Only insane persons are put there, and there is no preferential treatment. All those who need medical attentions can be admitted to hospitals.

CRIMINALS IN LAUREL WREATHS

Anti-Soviet propaganda speaks all the time about alleged "political opposition" in the USSR, whose civil rights are continually infringed by the authorities. Numerous publications in the West claim that these "dissenters" are suffering for their views. Anti-Soviet demonstrations, meetings, processions and various rallies where one can see lots of extras wearing striped inmate robes are organized every so often in London, New York and other cities in capitalist countries. They move along behind decorative prison grates or in plastic fetters, thus presenting their idea of "prisoners of conscience." These soap operas are meant to incite hostility toward our country. Every other day, the Western mass media are out to introduce another "great martyr." These serve as objects for long propaganda campaigns which poison public opinion with lies, clander and bias.

Facts, however, prove that the laurel wreaths of "human rights champions" are placed on persons whose actions are punishable in accordance with the Criminal Code and who are punished by Soviet courts of law not for their beliefs, but for specific crimes against the people and the state. Among these characters are thieves, black marketeers, embezzlers, slanderers, bribe-takers and swindlers.

In a number of Western countries, signatures were collected for petitions in defense of S. Levinzon. Bourgeois propaganda tried to convince the general public that the said Levinzon was suffering for his views, although in reality Levinzon was tried and sentenced for black marketing by a court in the Moldavian SSR. Levinzon didn't lead a penny-pinching life. He had a job, was getting good money and his wife had an ample account at a savings bank. On top of this, Levinzon received money orders from several capitalist countries.

At the court proceedings, it was determined that Levinzon was a hired provocateur. His anti-Soviet activities were financed by special organizations abroad that are involved in activities aimed against the Soviet Union.

Letters and appeals in defense of A. Koltunov from individuals and organizations in Western countries continue to arrive at the offices of Soviet authorities. Bourgeois press writes that Koltunov is allegedly suffering for his "dissent" and his "belief in God". In reality, Koltunov was imprisoned for swindling. Working as a director of a zonal administration of the Soviet sports lottery, Koltunov denied some citizens their right to receive their money won through the lottery. He claimed that the lottery form was filled out incorrectly or said that, for speeding up the procedure, some officials had to be bribed. Some easily deceived people did what Koltunov demanded and gave him 100 or 200 roubles for "necessary expenditures." Koltunov simply pocketed this money. In this manner, he compromised the state-run company and damaged the interests of the state and individuals.

In late 1979, the Dmitrov Militia (Moscow Region) traced down a gang of swindlers trading icons and items of antiquity, mainly from church requisite. The gang was active in Moscow Region villages for about a year. During that time, the gangsters had plundered over a score of private houses and churches. The stolen valuables were sold out at low prices to Moscow engineer Igor Guberman, 44. In this manner, Guberman intended to knock up a fortune before leaving for Israel, the permission for departure having been given already by respective bodies of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The search at Guberman's apartment revealed 68 icons and two ritual crosses. An expert commission had estimated the goods as worth of 30.000 roubles.

The investigation still in process, numerous cables began to come to Dmitrov from the U.S.A., Canada and France addressed to "Mr. Belyakov, the militia chief officer." The senders demanded that the "innocent human rights champion," Igor Guberman, be immediately released from custody. American Congressmen, Henry A. Waxman and Bill Gradison, also had stood up for him, claiming he was not guilty. The American Zionists were particularly concerned with Guberman's fate and demanded that the "dissident" Igor Guberman was set free right away. Gu-

berman himself, however, had refused to be called "dissident" and "defender of human rights." He admitted that he had been punished for being engaged in stealing and buying stolen items.

Canadian and other Western papers often carry classified announcements in support of imprisoned infringers of Soviet laws from amongst outcasts of the Soviet people, in particular the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. These persons are presented to the public as no less than members of "Helsinki monitoring groups." Such kind of press petitions are meant for misleading the readership. In reality, under the disguise of "monitors" hide those who were tried and sentenced for criminal offences, including agitation for the overthrow of Soviet rule.

Among these one can find Lev Lukyanenko. In the early 60s, he attempted to carry out preparations for an armed struggle against the Soviet rule with the purpose of separating Ukraine from the USSR, thus violating the USSR Constitution. After serving a prison term, Lukyanenko was released in 1976, but again became involved in illegal activities, concocting slanderous materials which were disseminated in the West. He was fomenting hatred toward Russians, presenting them as oppressors of the Ukraine and accusing them of a "cultural genocide." His concoctions didn't say a single word about one million Russian people who perished liberating the Ukraine from the nazis during the Great Patriotic War. He hushed up the fact that the unbreakable and heartfelt friendship between the Russian and the Ukrainian people was tested throughout centuries, and that this friendship has acquired qualitatively new features and new contents in Soviet times, basing itself on the patriotic and internationalist principles of socialist system, free of social or national oppression.

Quite revealing are the signatures on the petitions in defense of Lukyanenko and his like. They are supported by such gangs of nationalist cutthroats as the Fraternity of Veterans of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army, the League of Ukrainian War Veterans, the League and Association for the Liberation of the Ukraine, and the Society of Free Ukrainian Cossacks. These groupings unite former members of the Nazi auxiliary police and Gestapo who, jointly with the nazis, perpetrated horrible crimes in the Ukraine during the last war. These

thugs are allied to the extermination of five million people and the enslavement of two million citizens of the Ukrainian SSR driven for forced labor to Germany. Today they claim that all their lives they had been fighting for human rights, for "freedom of movement" and "rapprochement among nations."

Outrageous as it is, but it is a hard fact that one of the nazi accomplices, who had operated in the nazi-occupied Rovno in the Ukraine, currently holds a high office in the State Department and is an American representative to UNESCO. The name of this person is Konstantin Warwariv.

In October 1977, Warwariv was on a U.S. governmental delegation at a UNESCO conference held in Tbilisi. Here he was recognized as a former nazi accomplice.

Kost Warwariv was born in 1924, in the village of Styden, Volyn Region, Ukrainian SSR. In 1941-1944, he served in the *Gebietskommissariat* of the nazi-occupied Rovno. The *Gebietskommissariat* executed authority in that city, conducted punitive operations, organized round-ups and grouped people to be sent for forced labor to Germany. As an interpreter of the legal department of this administrative body, Warwariv personally participated in interrogations and torturing of Soviet people.

The American side was handed over the materials captured by the Soviet Army from a nazi archive in the occupied Rovno. Among these were documents concerning Warwariv, signed by representatives of the nazi adimistration, and also pay-rolls of the nazi *Gebietskommissariat* with the affixed signatures of K. Warwariv.

Among other documents, there was an instruction to the Rovno nazi legal department where Warwariv worked, signed personally by Gebietskommissar Beer, on paying K. Warwariv, as of December 1, 1943, salary of the 3rd pay group. This document was dated December 3, 1943. Gebietskommissar Beer also issued a directive to the head of the Rovno legal department to increase additions to Warwariv's salary from 40 to 50 percent. Beer's signature can also be found on a number of other documents concerning Warwariv.

It is worthwhile underscoring in this regard that Beer was a war criminal and a butcher on whose order 17,000 Soviet citizens were executed in Rovno from November 7 to November 9, 1941.

The American side was also given testimonies by witnesses currently living in Rovno. Among the materials proving Warwariv's involvement in the crimes was the testimony by Zinaida Simkovska, aged 51, who informed the Soviet authorities that she had met Warwariv in the spring of 1942 when she was caught in a roundup staged in Rovno by the nazis. Warwariv participated in the operation, wearing a black gestapo uniform, with a holstered pistol swinging on his hip. Among other things, Simkovska stated the following:

Konstantin Warwariv lived together with his father and mother. His father was a priest. I often saw K. Warwariv together with his elder brother, Yevhen, who was also dressed in a black uniform. Several times I saw Konstantin's younger brother, Yuri. He was wearing a green uniform. In the summer of 1943, K. Warwariv told me that his younger brother had been killed during some operation. Also he had a sister. It seems her name was Sonya. The sister was deaf. Warwariv himself was tall, light brown-haired, with a thin oblong face, his eyes blue. I remember Warwariv's habit of covering his lower lip with the upper during conversation."

Dmitro Bulavsky, born 1925, now living in Rovno, had this to say:

"In June 1943, I received a notification to come to the camp from where the nazis were sending people for work in Germany. That camp was located on the outskirts of the city, and was fenced off with barbed wire. The camp was guarded by armed Germans. I stayed at the camp for about 4—5 hours till Warwariv found me among the detainees and told me to follow him. At the entry Warwariv produced some document and the guard let us out. From this I drew the conclusion that Warwariv had authority among the Germans. Warwariv was tall, light brown-haired, with the hair brushed straight back, his face oblong."

Mikola Lukashevich, born 1922, resident of the village of Mlyniv (near Rovno) testifies:

"I learned that the Warwarivs came to Rovno from my father, in the fall of 1941. My father told me that a new dean of the cathedral, Warwariv, had arrived in Rovno together with his family. Later on, I learned about this family in detail. The younger son, Yuri, served in the German gendarme corps and was wearing a nazi uniform.

In the summer of 1943, Yuri was killed during a punitive operation staged by the nazis against Soviet partisans. The occupation authorities organized pompous funeral for Yuri and forced all the local residents to attend. The middle son, Konstantin, was more than of medium height, light brown-haired, his hair brushed back. He somehow covered his lower lip with the upper. He worked in the *Gebietskommissariat*, in the legal department. I saw Konstantin in Rovno more than once. The elder brother, Yevhen, was less familiar to me. I met him seldom but in 1943 it became my knowledge that Yevhen served in the German police."

Yuri Litvinenko, aged 56, currently residing in Rovno, told that he had met Yuri Warwariv in the spring of 1942, and in the summer of 1943 saw his funeral organized by the nazis in a Rovno cathedral. Litvinenko met Konstantin Warwariv in Rovno many times and saw him dressed in a black Gestapo uniform by the entrance to the *Gebietskommissariat*, and on the city streets.

As far as Warwariv's wife, Olena, née Kozar, is concerned, the documents about her past prove that she served in the Gestapo. American authorities were handed over the photographs where she was depicted with the nazis. In 1942, her sister, Halyna, was also employed by the Gestapo. At that time she was a second-year student at a Dnipropetrovsk college; now she is working with an American radio station.

Warwariv's father-in-law, Pavlo Kozar, a former criminal, received from the occupation authorities the nickname of a "professor" for his collaboration with the Gestapo. On his reports to the Germans, many patriots were shot to death. The American side was handed over a copy of the collaborationist *Dnipropetrovsk Gazette* of November 24, 1942, with the front-page article calling for cooperation with the nazis in the struggle "against Judo-Bolsheviks and their Anglo-American allies." Among those who signed that article was "professor" P. Kozar.

During the 1944 retreat of the nazi troops, Warwariv fled together with his masters to Germany and hid himself in a labor camp the inmates of which were predominantly from Eastern Europe. There he waited till the American troops came and liberated him as a "victim of nazism." At present, Konstantin Warwariv resides in the USA.

With the help of high-ranking officials in the American Administration, this nazi accomplice was transformed into a "human rights champion" and promoted to high offices in the U.S. State Department and the UNESCO. One can only imagine the burning desire of this former Hitler's bootlicker to implement Helsinki Accords and to develop cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The above facts show that neither concern for human rights nor the implementation of Helsinki Accords stand behind motivations of those people whose main aim is torpedoing detente. Promotion of a nazi accomplice to such a high office in the U.S. Administration is a sacrilege of the memory of nazi victims and a challenge to all anti-fascists.

Up till now Warwariv officially represents the USA in UNESCO, an organization meant to care for cultural heritage of humanity and to serve the cooperation among nations in humanitarian spheres. There is no doubt that this sullies the image of UNESCO. Participation of a former nazi accomplice in the activities of this international organization contradicts the humane principles of the United Nations.

In 1980, the Lithuanian Film Studio released a documentary *The Dialogue with Conscience.* The film reproduced crimes perpertrated by the so-called battalions of auxiliary police service which joined in with the nazis in exterminating civil population during the occupation of Lithuania by the nazis. The blood freezing scenes of executions in the Kaunas suburbs, scores of gallows, piles of dead bodies ....

The nazis were fond of taking photos. One of such photos features Antanas Getsyavichus, commander of the First Company platoon and the so-called *Jagdkommand.* Nowadays, this sadist and executor has assumed the name of Gechas and, registered as a mining engineer, he resides in Scotland. Here is his address: 3, Moston terrace, Edinborgh, Eng.

Shown in a number of photos is the lieutenant-executor Yurgis Yuodis. At present resident of St. Petersburg, Florida, USA, he is engaged in painting. Lithuanian emigrants organize exhibitions of his works in America. The encyclopaedia published in Boston reads: Yurgis Yuodis, a painter, born October 22, 1911, in the village of Keblisbkyai, Pakonnissk Volost..." The encyclopedia keeps

silent, however, about what Yuodis was up to during the Second World War. Yet, the testimony furnished by eyewitnesses helps to fill in the gap.

Pranas Lenkaitis: "When in the summer of 1941 the nazis occupied Lithuania, I joined in the 2nd battalion of the auxiliary police service which was being formed up in the Mishku St., Kaunas. My platoon commander was the airforce lieutenant Yurgis Yuodis."

Statis Vaitkus: "I served with the 2nd (later the 12th) battalion from August 1941 till the spring of 1942. Our platoon was commanded by Yurgis Yuodis."

Emigrant papers have placed a photo of Yuodis in our days where he is shown encircled by a group of visitors to his exhibition. This photo was produced to a number of former 12th battalion servicemen, currently residing in Kaunas. All of them were put one question: "Do you know any of these people?" A former enlisted man of the punitive battalion, Kazis Adoimaitis, said, pointing at Yuodis. "Here is Yurgis Yuodis. I saw him in 1941 during an execution of Jews in the Kaunas Seventh Fort.... Commanding the fire squad were officers Getsyavichus, Pukis, and Yurgis Yuodis. All of them were giving orders to shoot at the poor people doomed to death."

The one-time lieutenant was also recognized in the newspaper picture by Pranas Saulyavichus; "I remember Yurgis Yuodis very well. He was A. Impulyavichus' aide-de-camp. With my own eyes I saw him take part in executions. Once we set off from Minsk in the direction of Slutsk. After a ride of about 60 kilometers we stopped at a small township. There gestapo men ordered to shoot down local Soviet activists and Jews. All the three companies were employed in the action, commanded by captain Yuosas Usyalis, lieutenant Yurgis Yuodis and a number of other officers. Some 400 people were exterminated then."

In today's America Yuodis is claimed to be a "human rights champion." The local authorities have taken him under protection and are not going to put him to trial for the crimes he committed. As far as Lithuanian emigration leaders are concerned, they have undertaken to shield Yuodis from attacks of the League of Struggle Against Defamation. The league proclaimed as one of its tasks to keep on exposing nazi butchers who once were behind the execution of Jews. An agreement has been

reached between Lithuanian emigrants and U.S. Zionists confirming that it is not worthwhile to reopen old wounds as this may "hinder cooperation." They have decided to hold back mutual charges.

The more harm a criminal inflicts on the Soviet state, the bigger is the respect he enjoys in the circles of anti-Soviet Westerners. Criminals Pranas Brazinskas and his son, Algirdas Brazinskas, have found shelter from Soviet law in the USA and are enjoying support of high officials.

On October 15, 1970, the Brazinskases hijacked an Aeroflot's AN-24 plane on its flight from Batumi to Sukhumi with 46 passengers on board. The hijackers killed stewardess Nadezhda Kurchenko and severely wounded crew commander Georgy Chakhrakia, navigator Valeriy Fadeyev and air mechanic Oganes Babayan. The plane was hijacked to Turkey. This was not the first crime committed by the Brazinskases. Brazinskas Senior, who was a shop-assistant in Lithuania, was tried for swindling and fraud. After release from prison, he moved to Central Asia. There he continued his swindling practices and made his son, Algirdas, then under age, his accomplice.

The Brazinskases committed an armed attack on the crew, which resulted in murder and injuries. Similar crimes are universaly subject to severe punishment.

The Resolution of the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly, of December 15, 1976, *On Measures Preventing International Terrorism which Endangers or Causes the Loss of Life of Innocent Victims* calls on all the states to enhance the struggle against this grave violation of international law.

Brazinskases' crimes were perpetrated in the USSR air space. These crimes were directed against the Soviet state and took the life and health of Soviet citizens. In this regard, there is no doubt that their crime is punishable by Soviet law and that the criminals must be tried by Soviet court in accordance with Soviet laws. The 1971 Montreal Convention, for example, puts it point-blank: "Each participant state takes such measures which may deem necessary for establishing its jurisdiction over the crime in the following cases: a) when crime is committed on the territory of the said state, b) when crime is committed aboard, or in relation to, the aircraft registered in the said state."

The extradition of persons who have committed grave crimes, for their just trial fully complies with the international conventions on fighting illegal acts directed against the security of civil aviation, adopted in the Hague (1970) and in Montreal (1971). Both conventions qualify hijacking as a grave criminal offense (Articles 1 of the two conventions), excluding the right to asylum in a foreign state and subject to be "included as a crime involving extradition into any treaty on extradition concluded between the states involved" (Article 8 of the Hague Convention and Article 8 of the Montreal Convention).

Despite all this, envoys of the U.S. official bodies, including the CIA, specially arrived in Ankara with the purpose of preventing Brazinskases' extradition to Soviet bodies of justice. Frenzied activities in defense of the criminals were launched by Senator Persy and Congressman Derwinski. As a result of this pressure, the Turkish authorities were forced not to extradite the criminals to the Soviet Union. Instead, the hijackers found themselves in the U.S.A. where they have been hiding from punishment since then.

Senator Brook from Massachusets, where Brazinskas Junior found shelter, took the murderer under his protection, of which he announced to journalists. Representative of the immigration service in Boston, Cramer, made a promise to "carefully and sympathetically" consider the bandit's appeal on issuing him a U.S. residence permit. Another official of this service, Wagner, stated that months were needed before Californian bodies of justice would consider the criminal case of Brazinskas Senior, if at all they would want to do it.

On February 27, 1978, Senator Pete Domenici (Rep., New-Mexico) submitted bills to the Congress in support of the 55-year-old Pranas and 22-year-old Algirdas Brazinskas. These motions were accepted for consideration by the Senate Judiciary Commission and automatically terminated the issuing of any claims to the criminals from the immigration and naturalization agencies (till the Senate makes a decision).

Member of the House of Representatives, Robert Dornan (Rep., California) also motioned a bill which suggests granting residence permit in the United states to the Brazinskases.

On March 21, 1978, at a press conference arranged by

the State Department in Washington, D.C., a TASS correspondent asked a question related to harboring the terrorists Brazinskases in the USA. He noted that they hadn't been charged with hijacking or murder, but merely with illegal entry to the United States. This case can drag on ad infinitum, meanwhile the bandits enjoy freedom of movement and don't suffer any inconveniences. Repeated claims by Soviet authorities and the public on extraditing the criminals have received no reply.

An official representative of the State Department said in return that this issue had already been "explained" by his department and he had nothing to add to what had been said earlier. The so-called "explanation" said that the Brazinskases' case was considered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The only danger that may threaten the criminals is a demand to leave the territory of the United States. The Administration didn't intend even to consider the question of their extradition to Soviet authorities.

The representatives of the State Department cynically stated that the U.S. concern for fighting international terrorism didn't extend to Brazinskases' case. Another representative of the State Department said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent that the State Department didn't at all consider a hijacking of a Soviet plane as an act of terrorism.

In the USA, the criminals enjoy patronage from reactionary Lithuanian emigrés, such as Bishop Vincentas Bryzgis who had actively collaborated with the nazis during World War II.

From the very beginning of this case, the Soviet Union demanded the extradition of the criminals. The Soviet Government stated on July 15, 1976: "The Soviet Government considers that the criminals Brazinskases, no matter where they are, are subject to extradition to the Soviet Union, and regards their harboring as an unfriendly act in relation to the USSR."

On October 5, 1977, 344 Aeroflot stewardesses addressed a letter to President Carter with the demand to extradite the criminals to Soviet authorities. The letter says, among other things: "The delay of Brazinskases' extradition to Soviet bodies of justice appears especially outrageous if one remembers that the immigration service is prevented from legal acts by Bishop Vincentas Bryzgis,

an active nazi collaborator who had earned the gory nickname of 'Gestapo priest'."

On October 24, 1977, the Central Committee of the Soviet Aviation Industry Trade Union made a statement concerning the struggle against hijacking which, among other things, stated the following:

"The world public is deeply worried over continuing hijacking of civil aircraft and terrorist acts committed against their passengers and crews. Yet, most striking is the fact that in many cases the bandits get away unpunished.

"Members of our trade union have learned with indignation that the American authorities have, in fact, granted their protection to father and son Brazinskas who had committed grave criminal offences on the territory of the Soviet Union. Killing the stewardess and injuring the crew, they commandeered an AN-24 plane flying from Batumi to Sukhumi and at gunpoint forced the crew to land in Turkey. Seven years have elapsed since that time, but the murderers still enjoy freedom of movement...

"It is known that one of the principal tasks of our organization, as well as of numerous national trade unions and international aviation organizations, is the ensuring safe labor conditions in civil aviation in general, and safe flights in particular. Therefore our stand in the matter of hijacking is clear and uncompromized: a criminal must be immediately extradited to the country against which or in which the crime has been committed, where witnesses of this crime can be found and where impartial investigation can be conducted."

The patronage granted to the criminals in the United States contradicts the norms of international law, the spirit of Helsinki Accords and the steps taken by the United Nations for curbing terrorism. The Declaration of Principles which makes up the first section of the European Security Conference Final Act, signed by all participants of the Helsinki Conference, envisages that the participant states shall "aspire, while developing their cooperation as equals, to contribute to mutual understanding and trust, friendly and good-neighborly relations between them, to international peace, security and justice." Any understanding between two states is out of the question when elementary norms of justice are violated, when murderers and terrorists whose activities are openly direct-

ed against another state and took the life of its citizens, not only remain unpunished, but even receive the patronage of another state.

Anyone who conduct heartfelt struggle for human rights see clearly that the criminals Brazinskases should receive the most severe punishment and that the U.S. authorities twist the essence of human rights.

It is absolutely obvious that the surprising soft-heartedness of the American authorities in relation to criminals Brazinskases and the frenzied campaign "in defense of human rights" unleashed in the U.S.A. are merely two aspects of one and the same ill-wishing policy toward the Soviet state, a policy which violates the Helsinki Accords and the fundamentals of international peace. The criminals were granted patronage only because they harmed the Soviet state and because their actions resulted in death and suffering of the Soviet people whose life doesn't interest "human rights champions."

In this regard, the Soviet newspaper *Aviatransport* wrote on February 28, 1978, "No one has doubts that the White House would hardly put on stake its prestige of a 'defender of morality, laws and human rights' if in the Brazinskases' place were someone else, without a political mask and of no use for fomenting anti-Soviet sentiments in America. Such a person would be thrown out of that country in accordance with immigration laws without any delays. It is common knowledge that the Administration, concerned with the illegal infiltration of Latin Americans into the country, creates special armed detachments and patrols on the border with Mexico and Panama, catching the unwanted strangers and sending them back. It is also known that using the pretext of the McCaren-Walter law, the U.S. authorities turned down the requests of naturalization from hundreds of political emigrés from Chile, Haïti and other Latin American countries, at the same time harboring, under the protecting wing of American 'democracy', war criminals and other breeds of them.

"Pirates Brazinskases are comfortably off in America and often visit the immigration agencies where they are always welcome. The American Administration saves these murderers from retribution only because their pronouncements of hatred toward the Soviet Union are received in the USA as absolution from all their sins. For the President of the United States and his officials the notions of

'morality', 'law', and 'human rights' have a clear-cut class underlining and a definite political tinge."

The United States violated the resolution adopted at a conference on measures to fight terrorism, held in late June, 1978, in Bonn, even before it put its signature to it. In that resolution, the governments of the seven leading capitalist states declared in their resolution to fight air terrorism and hijacking. To corroborate this resolution, the participants of the conference signed an obligation to immediately stop the flights of their civil aircraft to any country refusing to extradite or bring to trial a hijacker and to stop receiving the civil aircraft of that country.

The U.S. position was a touchstone in the assessment of its practical readiness to fulfill the undertaken commitments. If the spirit and the letter of the decision adopted by the seven in Bonn were to be followed, then the American civil aviation would have had sanctions imposed against it internationally. However, this didn't happen. Washington demonstrated at the Bonn conference its duplicity, verbally declaring of its concern for international terrorism, and actually patronizing the bandits.

The Western press regularly publishes intriguing concoctions under the title *Letter from inmate X*. These anonymous correspondents give a spooky picture of how the infractors of Soviet laws serve their terms, well deserved ones, at corrective institutions. The contents of such letters reveal that their authors intend to use public opinion in the West for exerting pressure upon Soviet law-enforcing bodies. They appeal to human sentiments of the public, employing misinformation and slander without a twinge of conscience. They figure out that their letters would be published with the assistance of those Western organizations and mass media which specialize in criticizing the Soviet way of life.

In order to learn who was hiding under the disguise of "inmate X" in one such publication, Soviet journalists visited one corrective labor camp in Perm Region where they talked with some persons serving their terms. These persons were directly responsible for the mysterious letters. Among them was Zinoviy Dovganich, sentenced to a prison term for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Dovganich decided to tell the truth about the preparation of slanderous materials "from Soviet concentration camps", as they are called in the West. First of all, he stressed

that these activities are financed from abroad. Some persons among inmates in the colony made verbal abuse of the management their means of livelihood. They hoped that upon their release they would emigrate and be generously remunerated by those who paid for their stories.

Zinoviy Dovganich said that the administration of the corrective labor camp was very humane toward the inmates. He told that some time earlier, inmate Smirnov was operated on the stomach in a hospital of the camp. Blood was urgently needed. Then the camp doctor, major Yarunin, gave the patient his own blood. During another operation, inmate Kaminskas was given blood by a camp therapeutist, Solomina. Dovganich noted that these patients were not labor heroes, or war veterans, but criminals serving their terms.

Dovganich told about one more case of open double-dealing — the 60-day hunger strike. One needn't be a doctor to realize that a hunger as long as this is sure to end in death. Dovganich said that he personally fed the participants of this hunger strike, staged in May and June 1974. Among the "strikers" were Gluzman, Bukovsky, Svetlichny and Mishener. Bukovsky, for instance, regularly received packages with foods and clothing. Dovganich said, "He managed to receive, besides a package a month allowed to him, several other packages through somebody else. For instance, somebody needed an electric shaver. Bukovsky immediately popped up with an offer, 'You'll get a package with the shaver, but the rest is for me.' To others Bukovsky gave a half the package or some specified things from it. There were many people he used in this way. Besides, Bukovsky was selling to the inmates some of the things he received."

In the colony here mentioned the inmates must work, because it is a corrective labor camp. The camp has a small shop which manufactures heating spirals for electric irons. The shop is well equipped with machines. The inmates work six days a week, eight hours a day, receiving wages in accordance with complexity, quantity and quality of work. Good work entitles the inmate to bonuses, additional visits and other benefits. As a rule, ample bank accounts await the inmates by the time of release.

Yet, the "dissidents" who think in terms of foreign currency accounts awaiting them abroad, aren't enthusiastic to work for roubles. They despise this work and

use any means to shun it, said Zinoviy Dovganich. As a matter of fact, they don't plan to work in the West either. When asked whatever they'd do abroad, one "dissident" answered that he personally knew Bukovsky who would fix him up some easy work to do. Another expected a pension from the Tolstoy Foundation, still another planned to make money by telling "spooky stories" about the USSR. But nobody planned to work. They are genuine parasites.

This is what "inmates X" look like, they are despised by the overwhelming majority of these persons who ran into conflict with Soviet laws and who are serving the sentence honestly trying to redeem their guilt.

Patronage over criminals and putting swindlers and thiefs on the pedestal as apostles of democracy is a permanent feature in anti-Soviet campaigns of imperialism.

An active part in this campaign is being played by Amnesty International which has indulged in misinforming the public in the Western countries in order to incite dislike and hatred toward the Soviet Union. This can be proved by many letters coming from different countries to the Soviet government and juridical bodies on the initiative of Amnesty International.

The analysis has shown that those people who sign the letters prepared by Amnesty often have a vague idea whose rights and freedoms they attempt to defend. For example, Marianna Rössler of Wuppertal, West Germany, signed and sent to the Soviet Union a letter, in June, 1980, containing the request to release Vladimir Bukovsky from custody. Yet, as is known, Bukovsky was deported from the Soviet Union in 1976. At the present time he lives in the West. So Mrs Rössler has betrayed absolute ignorance as regards the most elementary information about her "legal client." That is why she brands Bukovsky a "man with unique moral properties, a model patriot," and ascribes him such qualities as "truthfulness and selfless courage." It is clear, however, that this woman's move has been inspired by someone. And this someone is Amnesty International which used the woman to circulate lie.

Mrs. V. Sperl from Ansbach, K. Eshcensberg from Karlsruhe and some other West German citizens put their signatures under Amnesty's demand to set free Georgy Vins apparently because they did not have a slightest idea that two years already passed since G. Vins' deportation from the USSR and that now he lives in the West.

Nevertheless, every one who signs an Amnesty form expresses his or her conviction that the one they defend is still being kept in custody, i. e., he or she is a victim of an unjustful trial.

Such examples are not scarce. They testify to the fact that Amnesty International is misinforming the Western public and attempting to heat anti-Soviet sentiments. And this, incidentally, runs counter to the Helsinki Accords.

Apart from cooking up false justifications for those whom it "defends," Amnesty International invents non-existent Supreme Courts and even entire "Soviet Republics." One more example. Mr. Rudolf Böhme from Braunschweig and Dr. Konrad Lang from Beireut (FRG) concern themselves with the fate of the war criminal Kornienko, and claim he served an undeserved sentence. These gentlemen, however, have no idea about not only the essense of the crime he committed, but even in which part of the globe he was tried. They write that Korniyenko was sentenced by the Supreme Court of the "Republic of Belujistan" and refer to the *Soviet Belujistan* newspaper. But neither such a paper nor such a Union Republic has ever existed in the Soviet Union.

This fabrication is yet another form of the psychological warfare waged against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

This warfare has been directed from Washington. In October 1979, U.S. President Carter admitted that Amnesty International was used by the U.S. Administration to whip up a provocative campaign against the alleged violation of human rights in the USSR. Amnesty International is being fully supported by imperialist secret services,' wrote the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* in August 1980. The paper stressed that Amnesty's files bear resemblance to coded information, and the names of its agents are being kept in secret. The *Izvestia* noted that the addresses and names of the so-called "prisoners of conscience" are being provided to Amnesty International by secret services.

The Soviet press published documents revealing another Amnesty activist, Alexander Sheffler. A former nazi officer, Sheffler took part in executions of Soviet patriots in Byelorussia during the Second World War. In 1949, he was sentenced to a jail term by a Soviet court. Having served the sentence, Sheffler settled in Hamburg and became one of the leaders at an Amnesty International

local branch. No wonder then that in the West a special concern is shown in screening and saving war criminals from punishment, such people, for example, like Antonina Ginzburg-Makarova. During the war she served in a nazi punitive detachment. She regularly took part in shooting partisans and civilian population. As the testimony of numerous eyewitnesses was built up against her, Ginzburg-Makarova admitted that she personally had shot down over one hundred Soviet patriots.

As long ago as in 1965, the Soviet security services established the guilt of the Amnesty's British section chief Reddaway of being involved in anti-Soviet activities. He got engaged in it when living in Moscow as a student of special courses at the Moscow State University. Reddaway was deported from the USSR. Nowadays this man is involved in anti-Soviet scheming and maintains contacts with the CIA agent Max Ralis. Ralis heads one of the espionage departments at Radio Liberty, the so-called Bureau for the Study of Audiences and the Efficiency of Broadcasting. The Bureau is recruiting agents from among Soviet emigration, those who do not mind working for the CIA of the United States.

The Amnesty Secretariat officers John Humphry, Maxin Bredford and the executive director of the Amnesty's American National section, Amelia Augustus, have been maintaining long-term and extended links with the CIA.

There is hardly any doubt that the Amnesty is far from being a philanthropic organization, but rather a genuinely political body which comes out against the legal order existing in the socialist countries. Pretending to be rendering assistance to "prisoners of conscience," it in fact endeavors to finance subversive elements in the Soviet Union and encourage their anti-Soviet activities.

Involved in the anti-Soviet campaign, currently on the rampage in the capitalist countries, are members of special services and sell-out bourgeois journalists searching for people allegedly persecuted for their political convictions and, not finding them, substitute them with justly punished infractors of Soviet laws. However, fewer and fewer people take it seriously. Information promptly delivered to the public, both domestic and foreign, about this deceit dethrones these phony "champions of ideas."

SPECULATIONS AROUND HELSINKI ACCORDS

The Final Act of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation, held in 1975 in Helsinki, consists of three principal sections called "baskets." The first "basket" concerns the issue of the security of European countries and joint efforts for safeguarding peace and a relaxation of military tension. The second one relates to the problems of cooperation of participating countries in the area of economy, science, technology and the environment. The third "basket" applies to collaboration in humanitarian and other spheres.

It is the third section, though, that is being stubbornly and obtrusively discussed by Western propaganda. Besides, a one-sided character is imparted to this discussion: it has become part of anti-Soviet hullabaloo.

The Soviet Union is accused of the failure to observe the agreements on cooperation in the sphere of contacts among people, exchange of information and ideas, etc. In the West various committees and commission are set up "to monitor the fulfillment in the USSR of the Helsinki Accords" which, in fact, are interfering in the Soviet international affairs. Imperialist powers' special services try to put similar groups together on the territory of the USSR and, with their help, to plant their agents in this country.

It should be stressed that all the sections of the Helsinki Accords have to be treated equally without singling out any of them. For it is implied that all the provisions of the Final Act are to be put into effect. However, if one takes a glance at how provisions of the first two sections of the Helsinki Accords are being fulfilled by the West, it will be clear that the actions of imperialist powers often run counter to these provisions.

The countries which participated in the Helsinki Conference pledged, for example, to respect the sovereign equality and originality of one another, the rights to freely select and develop their political, social, economic and cultural setups. Nevertheless, the U.S. Administration sets at naught all these commitments by crudely interfering in the political, economic and cultural life of the other countries which signed the Final Act. Some time ago it resorted to an overt meddling in the home affairs of Portugal so as to exert influences on the makeup of her

government and elective officials. U.S. official representatives regularly announce about the inadmissibility, for European capitalist countries, of embarking upon the socialist way of development or even forming a coalition government of socialists and communists representing the majority. They also assert that the U.S. intends to prevent such development of events.

According to an official statement, on January 6, 1978, while on a visit to Paris, former President Carter, during his talk with the leader of French socialists, Mitteran, told of his anxiety caused by the prospects of union (of socialists — *B. A.*) with communists. A few days later the U.S. State Department made a statement which voiced a negative attitude toward the probable entry of communist representatives into the Italian Government. Our stand is clear, read the statement, we do not favor the participation of communists in West European governments and we wish that the influence of communists in all West European countries may abate. On January 15, 1978, the Paris-based newspaper *Le Monde* wrote that the worth of the State Department's statement lay in its straightforwardness. But was it compatible with the commitments signed by Washington, particularly in Helsinki, which prohibit any interference in the affairs of other countries in Europe? asked the newspaper.

When an issue came to the fore in Italy of forming a government with the participation of communists, the U.S. reminded that the loan of 500 million dollars, which it promised to Italy and which she needed badly, would not be endorsed and Italy would be left without any financial assistance if communists were included into her government.

In its relations with the USSR the U.S. Administration violates provisions of the first "basket" which says that the participating countries shall regard as inviolable each others' borders and, proceeding from this, shall refrain from any actions against the territorial integrity, political independence or unity of any participating state; also fixed here are commitments to abstain from any interference in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating state irrespective of their mutual relations. Contrary to these commitments the USA annually holds an anti-communist "week of enslaved nations" supported by a special

law which was passed by the U.S. Congress. During this "week" demands are put forth to encroach upon the territorial integrity of the USSR and allegations are made about the so-called "enslavement" of peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union. A handbook about the USSR (that part which deals with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), with which the State Department supplies American tourists, reads that the United States does not recognize the "incorporation by force" of the three Baltic republics in the USSR. It continues to maintain diplomatic relations with representatives of the last "free" governments (!) of each Baltic state.

The affirmation that the above constituent republics were "incorporated by force" in the USSR is a lie. The majority of their population had supported the 1917 October Revolution, and these countries had been part of the Soviet state in the years 1918-1919 until they were detached from it as the result of the invasion of German and other foreign troops bringing the local reactionary forces to power. In 1940 the governments of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, which were elected in a democratic way, again requested to incorporate their states in the USSR as constituent republics. That request was satisfied. During World War II these republics were occupied by the nazis and, afterwards, liberated by the Soviet Army.

Disregarding the commitments, contained in the Helsinki Accords, about abstaining from any form of armed intervention or a threat of such intervention against some other participating state, the U.S. has stationed military bases and troops along the socialist countries' borders. It has 8,000 nuclear warheads aimed against the socialist countries. It formed a military bloc, NATO, as a means of implementation of aggressive designs in relation to the socialist community. The military budgets of U.S. and its NATO allies have reached record high figures. The NATO countries are continuing the buildup of armaments and waging a "threat-from-the-East" campaign in order to deploy neutron weapons in Europe.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, its course aimed at the implementation of Helsinki Accords, was set at the country's supreme political forum — the 25th Congress of the CPSU. The Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation and for the Freedom

and Independence of the Peoples reads: "Do everything to deepen international detente, to embody it in concrete forms of mutually beneficial cooperation between states. Work vigorously for the full implementation of the Final Act of the European Conference, and for greater peaceful cooperation in Europe."

In the Soviet Union the Final Act's complete text was published in 20 million copies just on the following day the Helsinki Conference finished its work. This document was also published in all languages of Soviet Republics and released as a separate brochure. Thus Soviet people could in full measure acquaint themselves with the Helsinki Accords and follow the fulfillment of the Final Act provisions. It should be mentioned that the Western mass media have virtually hushed up the contents of this document. For example, in the USA not a single newspaper has published its complete text. Nor has any large periodical. Strictly speaking, *The New York Times* did publish excerpts from it, confining itself, though, to the aspects which are used by the U.S. Administration and the capitalist mass media for propaganda against the socialist countries, particularly, against the Soviet Union.

After signing the Helsinki Accords, the Soviet Union has come up with a great number of concrete proposals seeking to curb the arms race, lessen the threat of war and materialize detente. Among them, for example, are ones aimed at the conclusion of a World treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, the prohibition of the development of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, and the overall banning of all types of nuclear weapon tests. In November 1976 the Warsaw Treaty member states advanced a proposal to conclude an agreement among all signatories to the Helsinki Accords which would bind them to refrain from using nuclear weapons against one another and to suspend those provisions of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty which envisage the increase in membership of these organizations.

The Soviet Union has concluded agreements on various issues related to the Helsinki Declaration with France, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Canada, Finland, Cyprus, Turkey and other countries. In strict keeping with the Final Act provisions the Soviet Union notifies its Western counterparts of major military exercises and invites

foreign military observers to attend military exercises. This matters a good deal in strengthening confidence among nations. Ideas of detente and cooperation, ideas of peace, friendship and mutual understanding among the peoples are constantly propagated by the Soviet mass media.

The second "basket" of Helsinki Accords, as mentioned above, deals with the issues of cooperation in economy, science, technology and environmental protection. However, certain capitalist countries, the U.S.A. in part, in every way violate the commitments fixed in this section. It reads, for example, that the states are determined to promote the expansion of reciprocal trade and, therefore, they recognize the positive consequences which may arise in developing trade if the most-favored nation principle is applied. At the same time the U.S.A. refuses to grant this status to the USSR and a number of other socialist countries with regard to trade, and imposes extremely high discriminating tariffs and customs restrictions on goods brought in from these countries. To export various goods to the socialist countries, special license has to be obtain from the U.S. Government. The issue of such licenses is often delayed and not infrequently refused without any grounds. Through the committee for trade and the trilateral commission (U.S.A.— Western Europe — Japan), the United States puts pressure on other capitalist countries, especially on its NATO allies and Japan, so that they pursue discriminating trade and credit policies with regard to the socialist countries. American companies have their limitations where the sale of technical information to the USSR is concerned. In those cases when they do obtain the necessary license, its realization is hampered due to excessive delays. The Pentagon and the military industrial complex groundlessly apply the power of veto on the exchange of technical and scientific information with the USSR and other socialist countries. Not infrequently this is done under utterly false pretexts. The U.S. administration urges the private corporations to refuse to sell the latest technology to the socialist countries and to sell them only outdated technology and equipment.

A brochure about human rights in the USA released by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. informs that in spite of the hubbub raised with regard to the USSR's "dependence" on the American technology, the Soviet Union has

sold more licenses to the American firms than the U.S.A. has to the Soviet Union.

The third "basket" of the Helsinki Accords concerning the issues of cooperation in the humanitarian and other spheres is the subject of special speculations of Western propaganda. The Soviet Union is being accused of the unwillingness to develop this cooperation while facts testify to the opposite. Take, for example, contacts among people.

Over the five years that elapsed since the Helsinki Conference, the Soviet immigration authorities have issued to Soviet citizens over 17 million exit visas to 135 countries. Over the same period, 22 million foreigners have gotten Soviet entry visas. Contacts with foreign state institutions, non-governmental and public organizations have assumed a mass character. More than 50 million Soviet people are involved in the activities of many Soviet societies for friendship and cultural relations with foreign countries. In the USSR they annually organize over 50,000 events: weekly, ten-day and monthly festivals of friendship, days of twin cities and various meetings. Thousands of foreign guests are invited to attend these events. A similar number of delegates from Soviet friendship societies go abroad. International contacts also grow between trade union, youth and sports organizations. "Intourist" facilities continuously improve and expand to better service foreign guests. By the year 1980 the scope of foreign tourism had increased by 1.5 times compared to the year 1975. Religious organizations of the Soviet Union also maintain contacts and hold meeting with their foreign counterparts. Over the five years that elapsed since the signing of the Final Act, they have sent abroad over 500 their delegations. During the same period of time religious figures from 117 countries have been on visits to the Soviet Union.

Progress has been made in the development of individual contacts which was promoted due to a number of measures unilaterally taken by the Soviet state. Formalities for foreign trips have been simplified and brought into conformity with the Final Act recommendations. For example, at present, to consider applications for going abroad and coming to the USSR takes half the time it used to. Entry visas to the USSR are issued within ten days' time after the necessary documents are submitted

to Soviet consulates by tourist agencies. Passports for Soviet citizens travelling abroad are issued in 15 to 30 days. No visas are necessary for tourists flying by direct transit or travelling aboard cruise ships to go ashore. Duties payable for the issue of documents have been reduced two times and in case of repeated applications are not to be paid at all. Reduced is the number of documents to be submitted by those going out of the USSR, and simplified are customs formalities just as the carriage of household utensils and personal effects. Agreements have been signed with a number of countries on visa-free trips, on the reducing of the time for issuing visas, on repeated visas, on transits and on consular matters. These countries are France, Italy, Belgium, Canada and other Western states.

Yet, materials are being published in the West about barriers being allegedly put up by the Soviet Union to prevent families from being reunited. Naturally, this is a lie. The Soviet authorities in every possible way support the Red Cross' efforts for the reunification of families and the search of relatives. Besides, in the Soviet Union there are no objective reasons for emigration as social phenomenon. In this country there is no unemployment, vital social and political rights of citizens are guaranteed by the Constitution, and the population's well-being is constantly growing. The Leninist nationalities policy ensures the equal development of all nations and nationalities.

Anti-Soviet propaganda in every way focuses the Western public's attention on persons who are not permitted to emigrate. Such refusals are in full conformity with the International Convenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 16, 1966. This Convenant stipulates, in particular, that a citizen's right to leave his country to take up permanent residence in another country may be restricted when necessary in order to protect national security, public order, public health, morals or the rights and freedoms of others. This means that in some cases a decision is postponed until close relatives settle their affairs between them, especially their mutual financial affairs. Permission to emigrate also may be postponed for those who have knowledge of state secrets or who have recently undergone specialized military training. Naturally, permissions to emig-

rate are not granted to those brought up for trial or convicted. After some time, in cases involving state secrets, or if things have been settled among close relatives, or the term of imprisonment has been served or criminal investigation has been discontinued, the case is revised. Decisions regarding the refusal for emigration are revised every six months at the request of applicants. In 1976, for example, 737 citizens, whose applications had not been met earlier, were granted permission to emigrate. In the 1977—1978 period, 2,000 people, who for the second time petitioned for permission to leave for Israel, were granted their exit visas.

A few years ago a group of U.S. Congressmen, who were on a visit to the Soviet Union, submitted for consideration a list of 29 Soviet citizens who were allegedly refused to leave the Soviet Union. After the list was examined at the USSR's Ministry of Internal Affairs, it was announced that three persons on the list were allowed to leave the USSR, one application was under consideration, 9 persons were temporarily refused to leave the Soviet Union and 16 persons had never petitioned to emigrate from the USSR.

American legislators should, first and foremost, worry about internal affairs of their own country. It is common knowledge that procedures and restrictions for obtaining visas and crossing borders are more rigid in the USA than in any other country which signed the Final Act.

The U.S. service issuing passports continues to give persons wishing to travel to the USSR recommendations dissuading them from coming to this country or misleading them. A special handbook released by this service in September 1975 advises U.S. citizens that in the USSR they may be detained for actions which any sober-minded individual will not make in any foreign country, such, as desecrating monuments or the Soviet flag. Soviet officials are described as "austere" and "tough" with regard to anything ranging from traffic rules to the use of cameras.

At the same time resident aliens in the U.S.A. travelling to the USSR cannot get back with the normal Alien Registration Card, but must get special permission from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, before leaving the U.S.

A lot of easily-misled people have themselves tried "human contacts and exchanges" American style, after

they left the USSR in search of a "sweet life" in the United States. The unemployed and impoverished from among the immigrants are being blackmailed and used as paid agents in anti-Soviet campaigns. Often these people fall victims to violence and unfair treatment.

With regard to Soviet citizens the emigration authorities of some capitalist countries resort to such steps which in no way correspond to the spirit and agreements of the Helsinki Conference. For example, during the two years that elapsed since the signing of the Final Act, representatives of trade unions and other public organizations of the USSR were repeatedly refused U.S. entry visas irrespective of the availability of relevant formal invitations. This happened, in part, to the Soviet TU delegation invited to attend a convention of U.S. dockers' union, to the Soviet delegation of machine-builders union and miners union and other delegations. What's more, reprsentatives of Soviet Trade Unions were barred from international undertakings conducted within the framework of UN and UNESCO in capitalist countries. There were cases when members of the Soviet delegation of the Union of friendship societies with foreign countries, who arrived in the USA on the occasion of the USA's bicentennial, found that the American authorities put in their passports special inserts with the indication of restrictions concerning contacts with some public organizations. Concern and indignation on the part of Soviet public opinion also is evoked by provocations against Soviet exhibitions, numerous armed raids on the offices of Aeroflot, TASS, Soviet trade officials and even diplomats staged with the connivance of American authorities.

The third section of the Final Act provides for improvement in the exchange of verbal and printed information, radio and TV programs, films, for expansion of exchange in the sphere of culture, education and language. In these areas the Western countries are lagging behind the socialist countries. For example, only 50,000 Americans study Russian while in the USSR as many as 12 million people are involved in the study of English.

Contacts in the sphere of culture in this country are being developed on a wide scale.

The USSR's cultural exchange with foreign countries, in line with the USSR Ministry of Culture programs alone, has grown 2.5-fold over the past 10 years. The Soviet

Union has permanent cultural contacts with more than 120 countries, with 87 of them on the basis of intergovernmental cultural cooperation agreements. About 130 Soviet artistic groups visit different countries each year. The USSR annually welcomes about 150 companies which give some 6,000 performances in close to 100 cities in all the Union Republics.

Western countries, not counting the rest of the world, receive annually about 100 tours of Soviet performing art groups. The total number of representatives of Soviet culture visiting capitalist countries is over 10,000 people a year.

As far as cinematographic art is concerned, the Soviet Union annually buys 50 to 60 films from Western countries. Almost the same number of Soviet films are offered for sale to these countries. However, this is rather a meaningless balance. It is not so important how many films are bought, what is important is where and how they are shown. The films of capitalist countries purchased by Soviet organizations are released to be shown throughout the country in thousands of movie theaters.

Incidentally, there is no parity in the exchange of films between the Soviet Union and the United States. In the Soviet Union, all U.S. films that were purchased are shown to large audiences and the United States, for a few years, did not show a single Soviet film.

It should be recalled that at the bourgeois film market few films have chances for success wihout proper publicity. This is exploited by those who do not want Soviet films shown in the West. Foreign films bought by the Soviet Union are, as a rule, reviewed by the national and local press, in particular by such large periodicals as *Sovetsky Ekran* (The Soviet Screen), 2 mln copies, *Sputnik Kinozritelya* (Movie-goer's Guide), 475,000 copies, while in many capitalist countries there is virtually no information, either in the press or on TV, on Soviet films.

The Soviet Union on a large scale acquaints its people with foreign cinematograph. As for the Western signatories to the All-European Conference, they have yet to do much to remove disproportions in this area, for expanding true cooperation in keeping with the Final Act provisions.

The Soviet people are by rights called the most reading people in the world. The USSR is leading, too, as re-

gards both the number of book titles released and the amount of their copies. Some 90,000 book titles are put out annually, which makes 1/6 of the world's total, while the USSR's population accounts for only 1/16 of the world's total. Of them, 1,500 book titles are works by foreign writers (close to 900 from capitalist, over 400 from the socialist nations, and about 100 from the developing countries).

According to the UNESCO, the USSR puts out twice as much translated works as does the U.S.A, Japan and France, and five times the number put out in Britain.

In 1980, fiction books alone, translated from foreign languages, were put out in the USSR in more than 80,000,000 copies. These include over 800 book titles.

Works by American, British, French and some other writers are being traditionally released in the USSR in larger quantities than Soviet books are in these countries.

After World War II the Soviet Union has published over 15,000 titles of books by American, French, British and West German authors, and U.S., Britain, France and West Germany have released not more than 2,500 titles of books by Russian and Soviet writers. Or take the statistics on the two countries, the USSR and the U.S.A.: over this period the former has put out more than 7,000 works by American authors while the U.S.A.— only close to 500 works by Soviet writers. In the Soviet Union 250 to 300 books by American writers are published each year in Russian and other languages of Soviet peoples, and books of modern Soviet writers published in the U.S.A. are hardly more than five.

As for the mass character of the publication of West European classics in the USSR, here the Soviet Union is ahead of many Western countries. For example, Shakespear's works have been published in the USSR in 25 languages of Soviet peoples; Dickens' books have appeared in 24 million copies; Galsworthy's works have been released in 13 million copies. Writings by the German poet Heine have been brought out in this country in 18 languages.

Many classic authors of French literature are no less popular in the Soviet Union and are published in no smaller number of copies than in France. For example, Hugo's books have appeared in print in the USSR 462 times in more than 40 languages of Soviet peoples to the number

of 24,793,000 copies; Balzac's works — 303 times in 19 languages to the number of 24,703,000; Zola's books — in 16 languages to the number of 19,964,000 copies; works by Stendhal and by Mérimée — 125 times in many languages in millions of copies.

All in all, the Soviet Union has published 6,098 books by 553 French writers in 54 languages of Soviet peoples to the number of copies running to 313 million. As regards the publication of translations of Soviet literature in France, they cannot be compared to the above figures either in terms of the number of authors or the number of copies.

Here are some more facts. A monthly, published by the Writers' Union of the USSR, *Inostrannaya Literatura* (Foreign Literature), 600,000 copies, is fully devoted to the publication of translations of new books in foreign literatures. Where else in the world can such a large publication be found? Incidentally, apart from *Inostrannaya Literatura* two more monthlies — *Vsesvit* (in Ukrainian) and *Loming* (in Estonian), which also publish translations from foreign literature, are put out in this country.

A unique collection, "Modern Belles-Lettres Abroad" is periodically released in the Soviet Union, to review, through a year, about 600 new books including those by Western authors.

Nowhere in the world is there such an impressive publication as the one completed in the Soviet Union, "The Library of World Literature", consisting of 200 volumes and printed in 300,000 copies each. 137 volumes of this unique publication encompass the most prominent works in foreign classical and modern literature. Also, the first volumes have appeared in print of "The Library of World Literature for Children" made up of 50 volumes.

After the Helsinki Conference, foreign literature was published in the USSR in still larger numbers of copies: almost 88,000,000 in 1975, 98,000,000 in 1976, and 122,000,000 in 1977.

In 1979, there were 160 books by British writers published in the USSR in more than 15,000,000 copies. Compared with 1975, the growth registers about 6,000,000 copies. Such an increase is characteristic of books by authors from all Western countries.

As of 1979, there were 105 book publishing firms, literature agencies, theatrical and music organizations, and

copyright agencies in the U.S.A. which maintained business contacts with Soviet organizations. During 1974-79 both sides signed contracts for translating and publishing 1,593 works by authors of the two countries. The USSR maintains contacts with 82 similar organizations in the FRG, and more than 50 in France. The import of publications into the USSR from Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland exceeds fivefold the import of Soviet publications into these countries and the import of publications from the USA, France and Austria exceeds more than two times the import of Soviet publications. Thus, as far as the publications of foreign literature and the exchange of books are concerned, the Western participating states of the Helsinki Conference have yet to make their requisite contribution to the third "basket" and to help their peoples to better know the socialist countries' literature and art.

Soviet television stepped up showing of foreign TV programs, although before the Conference it would use three times more of Western TV materials than Western TV had used of those made in the Soviet Union.

After Helsinki this practice has assumed a yet wider scope. The number of Western serials shown on Soviet TV has noticeably increased after the Helsinki Conference: in the 1977—1978 period, for example, such French TV serials were shown. "Les Misérables", "Madame Bovary", "A Mysterious Island", "The Splendor and Misery of Courtesans"; Italian serials — "The Life of Leonardo Da Vinci", "Adventures in the Great North"; Spanish serial — "Fuente Ovejuno"; American animated cartoons, Charlie Chaplin movies, etc.

The mass media of the Soviet Union in full measure follow the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, consistently contend for detente and cooperation among the nations, objectively and respectively inform the public on the life of other peoples and avoid meddling in their home affairs. This noticeably contrasts with the stand taken by the bourgeois mass media with regard to the implementation of the Conference decisions.

The versatile character of Soviet people's contacts with the peoples of the Helsinki Conference participating states are fully corroborated by Leonid Brezhnev's words at the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, held in Berlin, when he said, in part, that the socialist countries are not a "closed society", and that they are open to everything truthful and honest and prepared to multiply, in full measure, contacts taking advantage of favorable conditions to be created by detente.

When facts concerning particular provisions of the Final Act are compared, it becomes clear that the Soviet Union consistently fulfills, without exception, all the agreements of this historic document. Officials in the U.S.A. and other Western countries, who have joined in the anti-Soviet campaign, do not recognize the entire makeup of human rights, they distort and misinterpret only one separate aspect of the third "basket". In reality the West considerably falls behind the socialist countries in the implementation of the Helsinki decisions.

CONCLUSION

A study and critical analysis of the methods and major trends of the latest anti-Soviet ideological and political campaign, being waged by certain bourgeois states under cover of the struggle for human rights, give grounds to state that this campaign and the way it was launched, particularly in the USA, not only has nothing to do with the Helsinki Accords but runs counter to them. There are no provisions of similar actions whatsoever in the Final Act of the All-European Conference. Nor is there any allusion in it to the possibility for one side to impose its demands upon the other side. The principal objective of this document was and remains to be the securing of detente and peace among states with different sociopolitical and economic systems.

In the given case there is a clear indication of an apparent relapse of the cold war, global psychological propaganda against the socialist community and the world communist and workers' movement. To carry out this strategic plan, the USA rearranged its propaganda mechanism, set up its new organizations abroad and taken measures to coordinate actions of the entire setup of anti-Soviet and anticommunist centers on a global scale. For this purpose, hundreds of millions of dollars have been earmarked and the subtlest forms of falsifications and provocations, involving a great number of people, have been developed.

Special services of imperialist powers use in their "struggle for human rights", which is in fact an anti-detente operation, various renegades, antisocial and criminal elements. In his speech on September 9, 1977, Yuri

Andropov, Chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security, said that the existence of so-called dissidents became possible only thanks to the fact that enemies of socialism have involved in this matter the Western press, diplomatic as well as intelligence and other special services, and it is no secret that "dissidence" has become a sort of occupation lavishly paid in foreign currencies and other handouts which in fact differs little from that how imperialist special services pay their agents.

The Soviet people's viewpoint regarding the ideological struggle of the two social systems — socialism and capitalism — in the period of detente, and regarding the rampant anti-Soviet campaign in the USA was explained by Leonid Brezhnev who said that ideological disputes and the struggle of world views are sure to continue. But the Soviet Union is against turning ideology into handmaiden of the military and the struggle of ideologies — into psychological war. A peaceful honest contest of ideas and social practice is our ideal, he added.

There is no doubt that the anti-Soviet campaign under a false motto of human rights was doomed to failure from its inception. In the U.S.A. a surge of indignation is growing against the duplicity of official circles and influencial forces who demagogically came out in "defense" of human rights abroad not taking effective measures, though, themselves to properly observe these rights in their own country.

Speaking on Soviet TV in September 1978, General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party Gus Hall, referring to the American authorities' speculations on human rights, said that this campaign is based on an utter lie. When President Carter launched it 18 months ago, Gus Hall went on to say, we said it would backfire on the President. This is exactly what happened. We knew from the very first that this campaign was false, that the administration was not even thinking about the real defense of human rights. Had it been any different, the administration would have had to defend human rights in the United States, too. But this did not happen, which proves the false character of the undertaking from beginning to end. Only a few people in the world took the campaign seriously. Now there is talk, within the Carter administration, as to whether the campaign "in defense of human rights" should be wound up and forgotten. Some people

in the administration are beginning to understand that the campaign has boomeranged upon the initiators of the false undertaking.

Reports of the Western and Soviet press testify to the fact that the anti-Soviet hysteria under the motto of defense of human rights has not misled the world public. According to the brochure *Human Rights in America*, the campaign for defense of human rights is just one more ruse aimed against the socialist countries, one more stratagem of the imperialist policy pursued by the United States for 60 years now in order to discredit socialism and, first of all, the Soviet Union. This campaign is a new shell in the arsenal of Washington's ideological weapons.[1]

"And take our Federal Republic!" exclaims the West German newspaper *Unzere Zeit*. "Just think: a former nazi judge, Filbinger, held the office of prime minister of Baden Wurttemberg for a number of years and decided the people's destinies by taking upon himself the right to determine who was a democrat and who was not, and imposed right and left *Berufsverbot*. In this case, though, the 'inveterate fighters' for human rights for some reason were silent... Before setting out to teach others, clean the trash out of your own house!"

This is simply the usual dishonest campaign, wrote the English newspaper *The Morning Star*. At the same time we put on a show of indifferent tolerance while in nearby Ulster "recalcitrants" are being tortured and innocent people "accidentally" killed. Even the elementary right to join a trade union is denied to many of our workers under threat of dismissal. The police trample on the democratic rights of the majority while they protect fascist gatherings and hound activists of the Anti-Fascist League.

"We will not revert to the trial of the Rosenbergs, but the Indians marching before the White House and demanding human living conditions is a history of the present day," wrote the Italian newspaper *L'Unita*. "But as before, the Negro ghetto still exists and the CIA lives on and protects the 'rights' of people like Pinochet."

The world public ever more actively comes out for stopping the psychological war started by the USA against the USSR and other socialist countries and for taking constructive approach to the solution of key problems of today's world which are vital for safeguarding peace on earth.

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[1] Look Homeward, Jimmy Carter: The State of Human Rights, p. i.

Contents

Introduction	3
Human Rights as Codified by the Two Worlds	12
Unsavory Business "Experts"	26
Clerics the Slanderers	54
Human Rights "Champions" from CIA	69
Espionage and Human Rights	79
Attacks on Psychiatry	88
Criminals in Laurel Wreaths	101
Speculations Around Helsinki Accords	119
Conclusion	132

Борис Германович
Антонов

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